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1909

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Inugural-Dissertation.

ZUR

Erlangung der Staatswissenschaftlichen Doktorwurde

VORLEGT DER

Hohen Rechts-und Staatswissenschaftlichen Fakultat

DER

Albert-Ludwigs-Universitat zu Freiburg i. B.

VON

ARTHUR V. WOODWORTH, B. A.

BOSTON.

Freiburg i. B.

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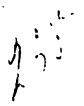

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CHAPTER I.

The Early Christian Socialists.

Properly to understand the Christian Socialist Movement in England today it is necessary to go back to the earlier movement under Maurice and Kingsley. For while that ended in apparent failure in 1854, it had sown the seed of a new spirit which, growing stronger and stronger, at last has born fruit in a wider movement of education in the needs of the industrial classes of England, a movement which, rightly guided, promises to exercise a powerful influence on the future of the English church and of the English nation.

The year 1848 or, as Maurice once called it, "that awful year," is one of the landmarks in the social history of Europe. Socialism which had for many years been a smouldering fire, then showed its power to produce profound political changes. The revolution in France was imitated on a smaller scale in most of the continental countries. In France alone the revolutionists overthrew the ruling dynasty, but the European disturbances had the common element of being middle class movements. In England, on the contrary, the agitation was confined to the working classes. Here the Chartist agitation which had been merely smouldering since 1842, burst once more into flame under the unfortunate leadership of Feargus O'Connor. Aside from the spirit of revolution which seemed to be in the air, from 1830 until 1848, there were three main causes which influenced the general trend of the movement in England. The first of these was the direct result of the Reform Bill of 1832. The labouring classes were encouraged to agitate for the passage of this bill, and their leaders were led to believe that it would directly benefit the workingman. The bill as passed, however, extended the franchise to a larger class of copy-holders and freeholders, but actually restricted the rights of freemen to vote. The labour leaders, therefore, felt that the first step should be renewed agitation for a wider extension of the franchise. The second cause was the repeal of the Poor Law of Elizabeth. Under this old law a person only need have the name entered on the parish roll to be sure of relief. But with the repeal of the law in 1834, all outdoor relief stopped, and the one prop on which the labourer had learned to lean was withdrawn. The consequent distress was very great, and the pictures of the shocking conditions under which the poor lived at the time are heart-rending. Finally, the underlying cause of all the distress was the readjustment of economic conditions consequent upon the substitution of machinery for the old hand trades. This meant the introduction of the factory system and the herding of great masses in the towns. It was in fact the first step in the problem of the great cities.

It is, therefore, more intelligible why the demand in England should be for political reform, while in France it was mainly social. The labour leaders wanted the right to vote. They wanted representatives of their own order in Parliament so that they might make clear the distress

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which the repeal of the Poor Law had caused, and they felt a vague sense, which still finds expression, that in some indefinite way righteousness by legislation was the short cut to reform. The People's Charter seemed to offer all that was hoped for, and its six points were the political credo of all socialistic agitators in England. These points were: 1, Universal suffrage; 2, Annual parliaments; 3, Vote by ballot; 4, Equal electoral districts; 5, Payment of members; 6, No property qualification. Certainly not a very revolutionary programme, but one which kept England in a state of alarm until its final disappearance in 1848.

I.

In the midst of the blind terror which the Chartist agitation caused, the Church turned generally a deaf ear to all appeal. So far from making any effort to understand the movement — to separate the true from the false — the clergy's voices were often loudest in the cry for oppression. In the spring of 1848, almost the first clergyman to attempt to understand the need was Frederick Denison Maurice, at that time professor at King's College and chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Already in March he said in a sermon on the Lord's Prayer:

"How can one ever make it a charge against any people that they hope for a brotherhood upon earth? Every hope points upwards: if it cannot find an object it is in search of one; you cannot crush it without robbing your fellow creature of a witness for God, and an instrument of purification. . . . . Christianity as a mere system of doctrines or practices will never make men brothers. By Christianity we must understand the reconciliation of mankind to God in Christ. We must understand the power and privilege of saying 'our Father' — 'thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.' . . . . This prayer does not treat the projects of men for universal societies, unbounded pantocracies, as too large. It overreaches them all with these words, 'as in Heaven.'" "The whole spirit of Christian Socialism," says Mr. Ludlow, "is in such passages though the term was not used till two years later." (1)

The Chartist movement culminated on the 10th of April, 1848. A monster petition said by the presenters to contain over five million signatures, was to be presented to Parliament by the full force of Chartists marching to Westminster in military order. London was thrown into the wildest terror. The troops were placed under the control of the Duke of Wellington, and a great number of special constables were sworn in. The procession was forbidden by law, and on the eventful day only a few thousand men met at the rendezvous — Kennington Common — and, after the customary speeches on such occasions, dispersed. The petition when examined later was found full of fictitious names, and vastly overestimated in the number of signatures. Unfortunately the affair had been heralded so loudly, and had caused so much terror, that the fiasco was as greatly magnified and Chartism from that day was dead.

Naturally the excitement interested Maurice keenly; and Kingsley, who had made his acquaintance a short time before, came up to London on April 9th, to offer such service as he could. A small knot of

(1)—Atlantic Monthly, January, 1896, pp. 110, 111.

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men grouped themselves around Maurice, and decided to issue placards for the walls "to speak a word for God with," (2) as Kingsley put it. Kingsley himself wrote the placard, which was posted all over London on April 11th.

"Workingmen of England: You say that you are wronged. Many of you are wronged; and many besides yourselves know it. Almost all men who have heads and hearts know it — above all the working clergy know it. They go into your houses, they see the shameful filth and darkness in which you are forced to live crowded together; they see your children growing up in ignorance and temptation for want of fit education; they see intelligent and well read men among you shut out from a Freeman's just right of voting, and they see, too, the noble patience and self-control with which you have as yet borne with these evils. They see it and God sees it.

"Workmen of England! You have more friends than you think for. Friends who expect nothing from you, but who love you because you are their brothers; and who fear God, and therefore dare not neglect you His children; men who are drudging and sacrificing themselves to get you your rights; men who know what your rights are better than you know yourselves, who are trying to get for you something nobler than charters and dozens of Acts of Parliament, more useful than this 'fifty-thousandth share in a talker in the National Palaver at Westminster' can give you. You may disbelieve them, insult them — you cannot stop their working for you, beseeching you, as you love yourselves, to turn back from the precipice of riot which ends in the gulf of universal distrust, stagnation, starvation. You think the Charter would make you free — would to God it would! The Charter is not bad; if the men who use it are not bad! But will the Charter make you free? Will it free you from the slavery to ten-pound bribes? Slavery to gin and beer? Slavery to every spouter who flatters your self-conceit, and stirs up bitterness and headlong rage in you? That, I guess, is real slavery; to be a slave to one's own stomach, one's own pocket, one's own temper. Will the Charter cure that? Friends you want more than acts of Parliament can give.

"Englishmen! Saxons! Workers of the great, cool-headed, strong-handed nation of England, the workshop of the world, the leaders of freedom for 700 years, men say you have common sense! Then do not humbug yourselves into meaning 'license' when you cry for 'liberty.' Who would dare refuse you freedom? For the Almighty God, and Jesus Christ, the poor man who died for poor men, will bring it about for you, though all the Mammonites of the earth were against you. A nobler day is dawning for England, a day of freedom, science, industry! But there will be no true freedom without virtue, no true science without religion, no true industry without the fear of God, and love to your fellow citizens.

"Workers of England, be wise, and then you must be free, for you will be fit to be free.

"A Working Parson."

(2)—Kingsley's Life and Letters, p. 62.

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This poster is the first utterance of the group of men afterward to be known as Christian Socialists. Every line of it bears the stamp of Carlyle's influence. He was then in his full vigour in the early years of his London experience, and like a Hebrew prophet was rousing the nation to a sense of its shortcomings. It is interesting to note that in the later publications of the Christian Socialists this influence tends to disappear as the strong personality of Maurice began to impress itself on his followers. But Carlyle's writings had played their part in the awakening enthusiasm, and it is probable that even Maurice had felt the influence, for while the poster was written by Kingsley, it was published with Maurice's full approval. Already one or two of the more serious minded among the Chartist leaders were drawn to Lincoln's Inn by Maurice's preaching, and with a view to attracting still more of the now scattered Chartist forces, it was decided in May to issue a weekly periodical called "Politics for the People." Maurice and Mr. J. M. Ludlow (3) were joint editors. Mr. Ludlow was a young barrister, who had been in Paris just after the February revolution, and his account of the events, which he wrote to Maurice was later described by the latter as having "had a very powerful effect" on his thoughts at the time, and having "given a direction to them ever since." (4) Mr. Ludlow is one of three or four men who have made themselves famous in connection with the movement by their unselfish devotion.

Their notion of the word Politics can be seen from the opening number of the paper which appeared May 6, 1848. Politics, they said, includes not only "the rights of a man in the eyes of the law, and his functions, if any, in the business of government," but "the rate of his wages and the interest he gets for his money, and the state of his dwelling, and the cut of his coat, and the print he stops to look at, and the tune he hums, and the books he reads, and the talk he has with his neighbours, and love he bears his wife and children and friends, and the blessing he asks of his God — ay, and still more the love which he does not bear to others, and the blessing he does not ask of his God — all are political matters."

In the second number Kingsley began a series of "Letters to Chartists" over the signature of "Parson Lot."

"My only quarrel with the Charter," he says, "is that it does not go far enough in reform. I want to see you free; but I do not see how what you ask for will give you what you want. I think you have fallen into just the same mistake as the rich of whom you complain — the very mistake which has been our curse and our nightmare — I mean the mistake of fancying that legislative reform is social reform, or that men's hearts can be changed by act of Parliament. If any one can tell me of a country where a charter has made the rogues honest, or the idle industrious, I shall alter my opinion of the Charter, but not till then." (5)

Men who were working in such a spirit could not fail to impress the labouring men with their sincerity. Nor was their effort fruitless, for about this time Maurice met for the first time "a set of Chartists

(3)—Mr. Ludlow's contributions were signed "J. T."
(4)—Atlantic Monthly, January, 1896, p. 111.
(5)—Politics for the People, No. 2, p. 28.

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at a Coffee House, in the hope of organizing some regular meetings with them at some other place." (6) This conference does not seem to have been productive of any direct results at the moment, but it must have encouraged the leaders to believe that the workingman was ready to be guided if they could win his confidence.

After three months "Politics for the People" suspended publication. Its results, however, had not been unimportant. It had gathered a group of earnest young men about Maurice, and when the paper failed they transferred their energies to the setting up of a free evening school for men and boys in a yard off Great Ormund Street. A few months later Mr. Maurice began a series of weekly meetings for Bible reading. "These were continued," says Mr. Ludlow, "for several years, and I shall always say were the very heart of the movement while it lasted." (7)

It was about this time that "Tom" Hughes, afterwards author of "Tom Brown's School Days," joined the movement. At first some of the members felt that he was too good a cricketer to be of any real service in the more serious work of life. They soon found, however, that he was as earnest as he was active, and down to the day of his death the labour cause in Co-operation, and in Trades Unionism had no better friend.

In the autumn of 1849, Mr. Ludlow went to Paris, and was so much impressed with the brotherly spirit, and material prosperity of the societies for productive co-operation (Associations Ouvrières) — then in their "golden time" — that he urged the formation of such societies in England. The conferences held with the workmen seemed to show, unmistakably, that some form of labour association was the subject uppermost in their minds. And the leaders "could no longer remain content either with mere talk on the one hand, or with evening schooling and some individual visiting on the other." (8) At the same time Maurice decided to issue a series of tracts called Tracts on Christian Socialism, and the weekly paper was revised early in 1850, under the title of "The Christian Socialist." Maurice chose the name himself, and wrote to Mr. Ludlow, in January, 1850: "Tracts on Christian Socialism is, it seems to me, the only title which will define our object, and will commit us at once to the conflict we must engage in, sooner or later, with the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists. It is a great thing not to leave people to poke out our object, and proclaim it with infinite triumph. 'Why you are Socialists in disguise.' In disguise, not a bit of it. There it is staring you in the face upon the title page. 'You want to thrust in ever so much priestcraft under a good revolutionary name.' Well, did we not warn you of it? Did we not profess that our intended something was quite different from what your Owenish lecturers meant." (9)

So many of the attacks on the movement have centered about the name rather than what the men thought or did, that it may be worth while to stop for a moment to try to discover just what it meant to the men who used it first. The year 1848 was, as already said, a year of

(6)—Life of Maurice, Vol. I, p. 536.
(7)—Atlantic Monthly, January, 1896, p. 112.
(8)—Maurice's Life, Vol. II, p. 30.
(9)—Life of Maurice, Vol. II, p. 35.

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crisis in Europe. Socialism had startled people by an unexpected demonstration of power, and an indefinite feeling pervaded the public, such as may be seen to some extent in Germany today that anything connected with the working classes, and especially with their organization, was of necessity Socialistic, not to say revolutionary. Three years before Kingsley had said, "The new element is Democracy in Church and State. Waiving the question of its evil or its good, we cannot stop it. Let us Christianize it instead." (10) Maurice in much the same vein wrote, "Our great desire is to Christianize Socialism." (11) There can be but little doubt that at that time co-operation was regarded as distinctly Socialistic, and Maurice may well have felt that in undertaking a co-operative work, in the same field, though in a different spirit from the Owenites, he was none the less laying himself open to the charge of Socialism. But it was because he appreciated the difference between his own principles and those of the ordinary Socialist, that he felt the need of the prefix Christian. Maurice had in a way disarmed criticism by defining his use of the term Socialism at the start. The question is therefore rather one of feeling, than of accurate definition. But the inquiry seems to spring up almost instinctively, Was it not an error of judgment to choose a name involving such sharp antithesis?

There has been and still is a belief in the public mind that Socialism puts the stress in human development on environment, while Christianity emphasizes the power of character. The one aim of all types of Socialism is the perfect society. The purpose of Christianity in the last resort is the perfect individual. Of course the notion of Christianity as concerned primarily with the individual is the Puritan conception. It is one side of truth. But it is a side which received considerable emphasis through the Wesleyan movement during the eighteenth century; and this influence was still strongly felt in the Evangelical party of the Church of England in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Socialist had another ideal which Taine brings out clearly in a comparison of French and English social movements.

"These men," he says, "were devoted to abstract truth as the Puritan to divine truth, they followed philosophy as the Puritan followed religion; they had for their aim universal salvation as the Puritan had individual salvation. They fought against evil in society as the Puritan fought against it in the soul."

Is not this true of the best type of Socialism everywhere, and in so far as it is true who shall say that one is Christian and the other not? The fundamental command of Christianity is to love God, but the second is like unto it: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as hyself." Surely no Christianity is complete which ignores the social condition in which our neighbour lives. Nor must we forget that Christ has taken pains to point out clearly who is our neighbour. And Socialism, however much it may be distorted by the violence of the ignorant ranter or the philosophic wanderings of the unpractical scholar, has its real hold today in the sight of the misery of individual suffering which is both produced by and in turn reproduces degraded moral conditions. In

(10)—Kingsley's Life and Letters, p. 58.
(11)—Maurice's Life, II, p. 36.

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short, the two ideals are not essentially inconsistent, for in the perfect state each includes the other. The perfect individual must tend to produce a perfect environment, and the reaction of perfect social and economic conditions would exert a strong influence in upbuilding individual character. But the fact remains that the Christian or the Socialist would produce his results by working from opposite ends of the problem. The Christian begins with the character of the individual, the Socialist with the structure of society. The question is fundamental and entirely readjusts one's points of view. Shall reformation proceed from within or from without?

The answer which Maurice gave was typical of his mode of thought. Reformation he said must proceed from both directions at once. These two methods are opposite but not essentially opposed, and as they are both working toward the same end, the church must claim and use them both. At that time the term Socialism was not connected in the public mind with the definite scheme of social reorganization with which later discussion has made the world so familiar. The early Socialist writers were almost unknown to the great public, and it is only since the revolution of 1848 that Socialism has been reduced to the present philosophic system by its greatest apostle, Carl Marx. Maurice had therefore a very great justification for his choice of the name Christian Socialism, and its use seemed to strengthen his choice, for the first effect of the use of the name was then, and still is, to call immediate attention to the practical side of Christianity which the movement always stands for. (12)

Even when the name was first chosen, E. V. Neale, who had just joined the group about Maurice, disliked it. He felt, he said, that it was "a mistake tending on the one hand to alienate Christians who were not Socialists, and on the other Socialists who do not like to call themselves Christians." (13) Maurice met this objection squarely in the first "Tract on Christian Socialism." "The watchword of the Socialist," he said, "is Co-operation; the watchword of the Anti-Socialist is Competition. Any one who recognizes the principle of co-operation as a stronger and truer principle than that of competition has a right to the honour or the disgrace of being called a Socialist." (14) Maurice and Kingsley — the great popularizer of Maurice — then proceeded to explain what they meant by the terms co-operation and competition.

The first tract which appeared with this object in view was the one entitled "Christian Socialism, a Dialogue between Somebody (a person of respectability) and Nobody (the writer)." It was written by Maurice to make clear "the real meaning and objects" of the Christian Socialists. The underlying motive was to show that all schemes for social improvement have failed and must fail, which attempt to found a new social order instead of trying to understand and use God's method. We overcome the world, not by putting ourselves in opposition to it, but by

(12)—In this connection it is interesting to note that in Germany the Social Democracy has a propaganda arranged with a catechism, etc., quite after the model of a religious sect. It is assumed in Germany that any Social Democrat is opposed to Christianity, and because it is a means of opposing the Social Democracy is probably one reason that the present Kaiser lays so much stress on orthodox religion.

(13)—Holyoake. The Co-operative Movement, p. 390.

(14)—Christian Socialism (pamphlet) by Rev. F. D. Maurice, p. 4.

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bringing ourselves into harmony with it, and using it for the highest purposes. "The experiments of the Socialists have failed," says Maurice, because "they sought to create a new state of things instead of proclaiming what that state of things is which God has made, and which we are trying to set at naught." (15)

The false conditions which man had created lay, to Maurice's mind, in the principle of competition. The political history of the times explains the emphasis on this word. In 1841, Richard Cobden began the Free-trade agitation in Manchester, and under his lead an active group of writers soon made themselves famous under the name of "The Manchester School." The basis of their system lay in the economic exigencies of the moment. Manchester had rapidly developed so great a manufacturing industry that already the trade was reaching out for new markets. The exporter usually finds free-trade to his advantage and so it happened that the agitation began in the North, and reached London only when the struggle grew keen in Parliament. The popular phrase, Laissez faire, sums up the teaching of the school. Their great cry "do not interfere with the laws of trade," was called by Ferdinand Lasalle the "night watchman's idea," because it seemed to conceive of the state as existing simply to prevent the individual from interfering with his neighbours. Competition was described as the life of trade, and after Peel had suddenly changed sides and repealed the Corn laws, in 1846, the teachings of the Manchester School were accepted as authoritative by practically all classes in England. Maurice probably knew little of the agitation in the North, but he saw the evils of the system of "Laissez faire" as applied to the London workingmen, and began at once a vigorous protest.

"Competition," he says, "is put forth as the law of the universe. That is a lie. The time has come for us to declare that it is a lie, by word and deed. I see no way but by associating for work instead of for strikes." (16)

Kingsley had already taken his leader at his word, and in his "Cheap Clothes and Nasty," sang the praises of competition with all the vigour of his satirical pen:—

"Sweet Competition! Heavenly maid! Now-a-days hymned, alike by penny-a-liners and philosophers, as the ground of all society — the only real preserver of the earth! Why not of Heaven too? Perhaps there is competition among the angels, and Gabriel and Raphael have won their rank by doing the maximum of worship on the minimum of Grace? We shall know some day. In the meanwhile 'these are thy works, thou parent of all good!' Man eating man, eaten by man, in every variety of degree and method! Why does not some enthusiastic political economist write an epic on "The Conservation of Cannibalism?" (17)

The principle of Co-operation which was to take the place of this cannibalistic competition, was the principle of association for work instead of for strikes. The "Association Ouvrières" which had survived the collapse of the Atelier Nationaux in Paris, served as a working

(15)—Christian Socialism, Maurice, p. 16.
(16)—Maurice's Life, Vol. II, p. 32.
(17)—Kingsley. Cheap Clothes and Nasty. (This famous pamphlet is now reprinted as an introduction to Alton Locke—new edition.)

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model. Early in 1850, the first association of working tailors was formed, with funds advanced by the Christian Socialists. At a meeting of journeymen tailors it was resolved that "individual selfishness, as embodied in the competitive system, lies at the root of the evils under which English industry now suffers. That the remedy for the evils of competition lies in the brotherly and Christian principle of Co-operation — that is of joint work, with shared or common profits; and that this principle might be widely and readily applied in the formation of Tailors' Working Associations." (18)

The setting up of this Association brought in a most valuable recruit, Edward Vansittart Neale, for nearly forty years closely allied with the co-operative movement, and well known as the Secretary of the Co-operative Union. He threw himself heart and soul into the movement, and with the others was nominated by Maurice a member of the Council of the "Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations." The success which at first attended the tailors' association caused others to spring rapidly into being. Twelve associations were actually founded (19) but it is notable that all were in industries untransformed by the use of machinery. There were three tailors, three shoemakers, two builders, and the other four were piano-makers, printers, smiths, and bakers. At first they were founded on the French type of Buchez, which placed the management entirely in the hands of the workmen. But this form of self-government was more than the men could stand. They were not able to enter into the noble ideals of their founders, and quarreled first with their managers and then among themselves. In fact, it soon became evident to the promoters, that the men were unfit for self-government, and it became necessary to establish a central body of control.

Mrs. Webb gives an extract from the first and final report of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, published in 1852, which is worth quoting in full. (20)

"In the first nine months of our life as a society we set up three sets of shoemakers in association, supplying in two instances the whole of the funds, and in the other all but five. None of the men were picked; we accepted them just as they came to us. We gave them absolute self-government, merely reserving to ourselves certain rights of interference in cases of dispute or mismanagement while any capital remained due to us. Each of these associations had quarreled with and turned out its original manager within six months; one, the West End bootmakers, went to pieces before nine months had gone. The other two struggled on till the beginning of the year, never paying their way, and continually quarreling. By the joint assent of the Council and the Central Board, they were then amalgamated, and some of the worst members turned out; but still matters went wrong until, in May last, we were obliged, by another great outbreak and threatening insolvency, to take away all self-government from the associ-

(18)—History of the Working Tailors' Asso. (Tracts on Socialism by Thos. Hughes. No. 2.)

(19)—For an excellent account of this form of co-operation, the reader is referred to Mrs. Webb's monograph on the Co-operative Movement, pp. 117 seq.

(20)—The Co-operative Movement, Mrs. Sidney Webb, p. 123.

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ates, leaving them only in cases of tyranny an appeal to the Society against their manager. . . . . Where the associations are successful, the great danger which they and all who are interested in them have to guard against is exclusiveness. The associates find their own position greatly improved, and fear to endanger it by taking in new members. They are apt, therefore, to make too stringent rules as to admission, and to require payments from new members proportionate to the capital which the society has gained, and such as few of the most skilful of workingmen can pay out of their present wages. The effect of this will be that a great many small associations will spring up, instead of a few large ones, unless workingmen will look forward, and take a broader and more Christian view of their work. These small associations will compete with and ruin one another."

As a matter of fact the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations came to an end in 1854, with an empty treasury. All of the promoters had lost more or less money in the undertaking, and Neale had actually impoverished himself. The tailors' associations continued for some years longer, but as a social movement the plan was abandoned by the founders with the dissolution of the central association. Maurice was considerably hurt by the discovery that the men had so little appreciation of the spirit under which they were supposed to be working. He complained that they regarded the movement merely as giving a better opportunity for "a more successful rivalship than is possible under the present system;" (21) while to his mind the very object of co-operation was to do away with the spirit of rivalry.

Both Maurice and Kingsley felt that the associations were a failure because the men were not fit for them. It is, however, a question as to how far this explains the real cause of the failure. No one acquainted with modern conditions can fail to feel the force of Mrs. Webb's criticism, (22) that the cause of failure lay deeper than any individual weakness of the workers, and was in fact inherent in modern conditions. As she points out, Buchez wished to do away with the entre-prenneur. But he thought only of the artistic handicrafts, where men "used tools and not machines;" that is of such industries as remain uncapitalistic. The modern conditions with the vast accumulations of capital and the highly organized army of workers is constantly demanding more perfect organization and greater capacity in its Captains of Industry.

II.

But if the Christian Socialists failed in the work they took directly in hand, they had at least a very powerful influence on the entire co-operative movement. First of all whether their application of the principle of brotherliness was economically sound or not, the high ideal which they stood for could not fail to exercise a helpful influence. No man quite reaches his ideal, and the fact that Hughes and Neale set a standard before the Co-operators of Great Britain which they could not reach, had at least the influence of giving the movement a better tone. It is certainly a mistake to underestimate the ideal influence on the

(21)—Maurice's Life. Vol. II, p. 43.
(22)—The Co-operative Movement, by Mrs. Sidney Webb.

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movement. The man who said at the meeting of the Co-operative Wholesale in 1869, that "persons having the interest of co-operation at heart should divest themselves of all transcendental ideals as to principle," (23) was not a safe guide for any movement. It is from such men that the effort comes to make cheap or adulterated goods in order to increase the dividends. Against the influence of such men high ideals are a necessity. And whatever we may think of the method of reaching it, certainly the co-operative ideal of the Christian Socialists was a high one. Opposed to the notion of a mere successful rivalry in the co-operative field, they offered the principle of association for mutual helpfulness in production.

There was, too, a practical side to their work which has had a profound influence on the development of the labour movement. Up to 1852, the Co-operative Association had no legal status unless they were willing to organize as companies with unlimited liabilities. The British workman is instinctively shy of such organizations, and Hughes, Neale and Ludlow interested themselves in the passing of an act to remedy this defect. They succeeded in interesting several M. P.'s in the matter, and in 1852, "The Industrial and Provident Societies Act" was passed. Limited liability was not granted to Co-operative Societies until 1862, but the original act, as indeed most of the subsequent changes were framed by Christian Socialists.

The organization of the Co-operative societies brought the Christian Socialists into contact with Trades Unionism, and it is interesting to note the effect of the practical problem on men like Hughes and Mr. Ludlow. When the Engineers' strike broke out in 1852, they threw themselves heartily into the fray in spite of their theoretical opposition to competition. Aside from their generous subscriptions, they rendered valuable service by letters to newspapers, public speeches, etc., to obtain a fair hearing for the men.

The strike ended in a signal failure, and the men not only were forced to return to work on the employer's terms but also were obliged to sign the so-called "document," by which they agreed to abandon the Union. Most of the men contended afterward that this signature was wrung from them under compulsion, and did not live up to their agreement to resign from their Unions, an act of bad faith which Hughes described as "inexcusable." (24) But it did not deprive them of his generous and continued support either then or later. And Mr. Ludlow wrote in 1896, "To nothing in my life do I look back with more satisfaction." (25) Nor were their efforts unrewarded for the friendly relations then established gave the Christian Socialists a name with the Trades Unions which helped them very much in founding their co-operative societies, and in giving them a hearing in the Working Men's College, which was founded in 1854.

Writing to Mr. Ludlow in 1866 about the failure of the Christian Socialist Co-operative Societies, Maurice said that he never repented and never would repent the movement, nor their assertion of Co-opera-

(23)—E. V. Neale as a Christian Socialist by T. Hughes, Ec. Rev. III, pp. 38, 176.
(24)—See History of Trades Unionism. Webb, p. 197.
(25)—J. M. Ludlow in Atlantic Monthly, January, 1896, p. 116.

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tion as the proper basis for business life. But, he said, "The more I compared our proceedings with those of the men who were working unhelped in Rochdale, and elsewhere in the North, the more I was convinced that we should mar the cause grievously, and weaken any moral influence which we might possess, by continuing to meddle with the commercial part of the business; that doing little and that little badly, we should become the victims of clever sharpers . . . . and should bring disgrace upon a principle which we felt to be sound. . . . . A college expresses to my mind . . . . precisely the work that we could undertake as professional men; we might bungle in this also, but there seemed to me a manifest divine direction toward it in all our previous studies and pursuits." (26)

In attempting any review of the early Christian Socialism one must remember first of all that it was primarily a religious rather than an economic or even a social movement. Maurice felt that they had made the mistake of leaving people in doubt as to whether they were attempting to found a new commercial scheme on a religious basis, or introducing a new religion into commerce. He was, however, perfectly clear, in his own mind, as to what he wished to do. "To set trade and commerce right," he said, "we must find some ground not for them, but for those who are concerned in them to stand upon. That is my formula."

It is, I hope, already clear, how different Maurice's idea of Socialism was from what we usually understand by that word. To Maurice the whole idea of Socialism was merely the assertion of God's order; and that necessitated that there should be no cut and dried formula, but that they should go forward with the faith that God would reveal the future step by step. The Socialist State, in which man attempted to shape his own destiny, seemed to Maurice a direct contradiction of this principle of faith.

"Christian Socialism," he said, "is to my mind the assertion of God's order. Every attempt to hide it under a great machinery, call it organization of labour or what you like, I must protest against as hindering the gradual development of what I regard as a divine purpose, as an attempt to create a new constitution of society, when what we want is that the old constitution shall exhibit its true functions and energies." (27) This "old constitution" was for Maurice a very Tory sort of constitution. There is little that can be directly quoted, but yet, especially in the earlier writings, there is much to show that he had been deeply influenced by the Oxford Movement. It was not long after Maurice left the University that Newman stirred the soul of England by the issue of "Tracts for the Times." It must have touched Maurice deeply, and only his profound intellect and deep sympathy with all religious thought kept him from yielding to the influence. In his notion of democracy he would have heartily agreed with Kingsley who wrote "A true democracy such as you and I should wish to see is impossible without a Church, and a queen, and as I believe without a gentry." (28) Certainly not a very revolutionary attitude, even for a clergyman in the middle of the century.

(26)—Life of Maurice, Vol. II, pp. 549, 550.
(27)—Life of Maurice, Vol. II, 44.
(28)—Kingsley's Life, p. 130.

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This then was the creed with which the Christian Socialists made their direct appeal to the workingmen. On the one hand association for work, under the ideal of brotherliness; and on the other the re-establishment of the social system, not on a new basis, but on the old. The present conditions had destroyed the true relation of master and servant, of employer and employed, but the new order was to give the masters a principle of humanity, a true feeling of responsibility which would make it impossible for them to take advantage of the labourers; while the workmen, under the new conditions of peace and prosperity, were to be filled with the joy of service.

Such an ideal contained the necessary reactionary element which is the usual accompaniment of ideals formulated away from the real heart of an economic movement. The key to England's rapid development at this time, the reason for the sudden appearance of a labour problem, lay in the wonderful growth of the manufacturing industries in the North. Maurice and Kingsley, and the men about them, were mostly Londoners, and were thus behind the real social development of the English workmen. This ideal of a new relation of brotherliness between employer and employed was suited to the past rather than to the future, because in the North the evolution of the "great industry" was already establishing a new relation in which the employer, through the fact that he often employed hundreds of men, was cut off from the personal relations with his work-people. Today it is the Trade Unions, and other organizations of the men themselves which have undertaken the personal oversight of the workers. But from the point of view of the development of the "great industry" the whole Co-operative ideal of the early Christian Socialists was false. It was suited only to small unorganized industries which had not yet had time to adjust themselves to the modern processes, and it is noticeable that only such industries appear in the list of trades, in which the Christian Socialists attempted to start the Co-operative movement.

The weakness of the Christian Socialists lay in the fact that they imagined the future to be quite different from what it really was to be. Their strength lay in the fact that they were themselves an element in the development which they little dreamed was going on about them.

But though the associations themselves were a failure the Christian Socialists gave expression to an ideal of brotherliness which reached an ever widening circle, through the appeal of its inherent truth. It is a remarkable fact that in England today thousands have had their interest in social problems first awakened by reading Kingsley's novels; and among the clergy who are active in social work Maurice is the recognized authority. Maurice was the head of the group which gathered about him, not only in the sense that he was the thinking power, but also that from him came the initiative for most of the definite actions. At the time of the Engineers' strike a discussion had been arranged on the subject, "What are the relations which should exist between capital and labour?" The discussion, however, was set aside at Maurice's instance because he disliked discussions on "Capital and Labour," preferring, he said, to discuss "Men, their duties and relationships." Perhaps the most striking instance of his power over the Christian Socialist group was, when during his absence Lord Ripon wrote a pamphlet on

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Democracy. It had been already printed when Maurice returned, and he read it in its finished form ready for distribution. He objected strongly to allowing it to appear, and though considerably disappointed, the rest of the men submitted without a word, and the printed pamphlet never saw the light.

Such a man was, necessarily, a very remarkable character. But to make clear just where his strength lay was no easy task. Prof. Brentano, however, who had the opportunity to know him personally, has given unquestionably the best estimate of his character. He says:—

"The characteristic of the man which left the deepest impression on me was a striking union of severe earnestness of purpose, with irresistible kindliness. These two qualities were at once the cause and the effect of the complete drenching of his whole being in Christianity. It is necessary to be perfectly clear as to what this means. Nothing is more usual than to meet people who emphatically call themselves Christians, and talk about Christianity. But it is very seldom that one finds men who, in all their judgments and in all their dealings with others, are actually guided by the Christian spirit. People believe in Christianity in general, but in each separate case they believe in self with all its interests, inclinations, prejudices and whims. Maurice was not merely guided in his general views of the world by Christian doctrines; it was impossible for him to think of any aspect of nature or of social life, otherwise than from the Christian point of view, nor could he enter into any relations with men in which that Christianity which had transfused itself into his flesh and blood, did not find expression in the simplicity and gentleness which combined with his earnestness to form that loving sympathy which was so free from any trace of arrogance or self seeking. Such a man was evidently marked out by his whole nature to exercise the influence of an apostle. And he gathered about him a group of brilliant, talented young men, who, filled with his spirit and uplifted by his example, offered themselves with reckless self-sacrifice to the great purpose which their master had set before him." (29)

(29)—Brentano, Christliche Sociale Bewegung, pp. 7, 8. See also Maurice's Life, Vol. II, pp. 2, 3.

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CHAPTER II.

The Period of Transition, 1854-1877.

The first chapter of Christian Socialism closed in 1854 with the failure of the Productive Co-operative Associations. From that time, while there is no party which called itself Christian Socialist the movement is to be followed in two distinct streams. First in the work of the original group about Maurice, a set of men who from this time on threw their energy into various parts of the labour movement and influenced it deeply with their old ideals. And secondly there is the clerical group which was more largely interested in Maurice's theology. In them, too, however, the social leaven of Maurice's principles worked and from them has sprung the modern phase of Christian Socialism—the Christian Social Union.

The most difficult task in writing of this period is the process of selection. The early Christian Socialism was a leaven. It is impossible to measure the influence of Kingsley's novels on the general public, or of Maurice's social theories on the clergy. One can only say that since the middle of the century the interest in social questions and the knowledge of the labour problems has so increased among all classes that none would dispute Mr. Ludlow's assertion that he finds, nowadays, "boys fresh from school, girls from the governess's room, with minds at once better instructed and more open on social subjects than those of their fathers and mothers thirty or forty years ago." From one point of view the whole modern interest in the labouring classes—University settlements, and University extension lectures, the spread of technical education, charity organization and Children's Country Holiday Funds,—all are more or less directly or indirectly traceable to the influence of the Christian Socialist movement of the middle of the century. But they are not Christian Socialism. The Christian Socialism of Maurice had two distinct objects. (30) First, The rearrangement of industrial conditions by the gradual substitution of association for the present practice of competition; or as Maurice would have expressed it, the readjustment of present social conditions to agreement with Bible teaching. And second, the opening of the doors of the church so that the workingman might once more take his place in the Kingdom of Christ, and learn that the Bible, not the latest revolutionary Chartist tract, was "the true reformer's guide."

The first of these ideals was kept fresh by the few devoted leaders most closely associated with Maurice who turned their energies to the Co-operative and Trades Union movements. The second found no definite expression from a group until the Rev. S. D. Headlam founded the Guild of St. Matthew. None of the other movements, however closely allied in thought or purpose, have seen fit to call themselves Christian Socialist, and they are therefore excluded from the limits of the present discussion.

When the co-operative schemes of the Christian Socialists failed,

(30)—Atlantic Monthly, January, 1896, p. 117.

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the leaders first transferred their activities to the new Workingmen's College. This college was not then and there created, but was a natural outgrowth from Mr. Maurice's Bible class. Already, for a year classes had been held in the "Hall of Association," chiefly, but not entirely, for the associate co-operative members, and their families. These were now expanded, with outside help, into a regular college. The model was to be, as far as possible, King's College, and University College, London. The management was to be in the hands of the faculty, which must certainly at first teach without pay. The scholars were to pay a small fee for the lectures, unless exempt because of poverty. It was hoped in this way to raise sufficient funds to extend the instruction so as to include boys and women. The instruction given was very varied, and it was hoped that the smaller classes might serve as a means of forming friendships between teachers and scholars.

The college was opened in the autumn of 1854, with Maurice as President, and has had an unbroken existence from that day to this. Mr. Maurice's broad religious sympathies made any ecclesiastical test either for teachers or scholars an impossibility. Men of the widest range of views were attracted to the work, and learned there to understand and to sympathize with the working classes. Among the famous names of past teachers may be mentioned Prof. J. R. Seeley, Mr. Frederick Harrison, Dante Gabriel Rosetti, Ruskin, Huxley, Tyndall and many others. The college has given a great impetus to educational work among the workingmen, and from it have grown directly other institutions, one of the most interesting of which is the South London Art Gallery and Library established by W. Rossiter, the first student Fellow of the college.

When Maurice died in 1870, Thos. Hughes was elected president and continued the work along the old lines until within a few years of his death. It is consequently safe to say that the college is still continued on the policy of its founder, the wisdom of whose judgment is shown in the ever widening prosperity of the institution.

But the activity of the young men who had been roused to enthusiasm by Maurice's teachings was by no means satisfied with giving instruction. The previous chapter has already told of the generous enthusiasm with which they supported the engineer's strike in 1852. During the next four years, there was a period of business prosperity, and this, combined with unsuccessful strikes in other parts of the country, tended to bring strikes into disrepute. At the same time the more thoughtful of the workingmen, under the stimulus of prosperity, were becoming interested in the principle of Industrial Co-operation.

The two models were the Rochdale and the Christian Socialist. The Rochdale Co-operative Stores was really an association of consumers for the supply of their own wants. Its distinctive feature was the distribution of profits in proportion to the total purchases of each member. The Christian Socialist plan was an association of producers in which groups of workingmen became their own employers, and distribution of profits was in proportion to labour.

The intelligent and enthusiastic support which the Christian Socialists had given to the engineers' strike naturally turned the attention of the workmen to their scheme of "self-governing workshops," which

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were just at the moment being established in London. But when these ended in commercial disaster in 1854, the hopes of the men were turned back once more to their Trades Unions as the most efficient fulcrum from which to manage the economic and financial lever.

The era of strikes began again in 1857 with the trade depression, and led the newly formed "Association for the Promotion of Social Science" to constitute a committee of inquiry into Trade Societies and disputes. Maurice was a member of the committee, and the valuable report (31) issued was contributed to, among others, by Hughes and J. M. Ludlow. Again the Christian Socialists came to the fore in 1861 when war broke out between the master-builders, and their operatives. The two causes were a renewed agitation for the nine hours' day, and the decision, on the part of the employers, to substitute payment by the hour for the previous custom of paying by the day. When the operatives petitioned for a nine hours' day, three London builders answered that they would engage their men hereafter by the hour instead of by the day. "This arrangement," they added, "of payment by the hour will enable any workman employed by us to work any number of hours he may think proper." (32) The men saw at once that this alleged freedom was illusory. As a matter of fact it destroyed the Trades Union principle of "collective bargaining" with the labourer, and experience had taught them that if each was apparently free to work as many hours as he pleased, each would as a matter of fact be forced to work the length of day which was fixed by the desire and capacity of those willing to work longest. The men failed to make their point clear, however, until two letters were written to the newspapers by "Eight Positivists and Christian Socialists." (33) These letters were largely instrumental in bringing about the compromise in which the struggle ended. From this time forth, says Mr. Webb, this talented group of young barristers and literary men "became the trusted legal experts and political advisers of the leaders of the Trade Union Movement." (34)

Again in 1867-70, when the whole fabric of Trades Union organizations seemed threatened, it was among this group of Christian Socialists that the men found their keenest champions. The Act of 1825 had given Trade Societies no legal status. But in 1855 a Friendly Societies Act was passed which contained a clause enabling any society, established for a purpose not illegal, to deposit its rules with the Registrar of the Friendly Societies, and so to have the privilege of having disputes among its members dealt with by the magistrates. (35) Under this Act the Trades Unions had long supposed that they were legally protected against the dishonesty of their officers. In 1867, however, the boilermakers had occasion to proceed against their treasurer, and to their astonishment the Queen's Bench declared that "if not actually criminal, they were yet so far in restraint of trade as to render the society an illegal association." (36) The result was to put the Trades Union funds,

(31)—Report on Trade Societies and Strikes, London, 1860.
(32)—Webb's History of Trades Unionism, p. 228, Note.
(33)—The signers were Godfrey Lushington, Frederick Harrison, Thomas Hughes, J. M. Ludlow, E. S. Beesley, R. H. Hutton, R. B. Litchfield and T. R. Bennett.
(34)—Webb. History of Trades Unionism, p. 229.
(35)—See Webb's Trades Unionism, p. 245.
(36)—Webb's Trades Unionism, p. 245.

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amounting to over a quarter of a million sterling, at the mercy of the local secretaries. Immediate efforts were made for remedial legislation. In the same year, however, a series of outrages at Sheffield was laid at the door of the Trade Unionists, and Parliament delayed all action by appointing a Committee of Inquiry into the general subject. Thomas Hughes had championed the cause of the men so warmly on the floor of Parliament that he was placed on the commission. Fortunately Mr. Frederick Harrison, the well known Positivist, who had been associated with the Christian Socialists as far back as the early days of the Working Men's College, was also put on the Committee. After three years of hard work a bill was finally passed (1871) legalizing Trade Unions.

According to the provisions of the bill "No Trade Union, however wide its objects, was henceforth to be illegal merely because it was 'in restraint of trade.' Every Union was to be entitled to be registered, if its rules were not expressly in contravention of the criminal law. And, finally, the registration which gave the Unions complete protection for their funds was so devised as to leave untouched their internal organization and arrangements, and to prevent their being sued or proceeded against in a court of law." (37) At the same time, however, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was passed, which increased in stringency the former acts against strikes and strikers and practically made all combination for strikes illegal. It was only after four more years of agitation that this was repealed and the legal right of the men to combine for strikes was recognized.

The activity of the Christian Socialists in the trade unions shows that their scheme of social reform was not confined by the narrow limits of their own co-operative plan. But their influence on the general co-operative movement has been much deeper than on trades unionism. In fact some of the co-operators who are most prone to regard the whole co-operative plan as a mere money-making scheme, do not hesitate to say that their power as speakers and writers has given these men a much greater influence than they deserved. In a sense the relations of the Christian Socialists to the whole co-operative movement were unbroken by the failure of their own associations. Already in 1852 they called a co-operative conference composed of delegates from the various co-operative bodies throughout the country. When their societies failed they virtually resigned the management of the movement into the hands of this body. These conferences were superseded in 1860 by the Co-operative Congress which met in London. On the list of conveners appear the names of seven of the old Christian Socialists. When the present Co-operative Union was formed in 1870, by the fusion of the North and South, the old names still reappear in prominent connections, and it was Hughes and Neale who were trusted with the drafting of the "Manual for Co-operators" in 1879.

Ever since the Newcastle Congress of 1873, "sharing profits with labour" has been affirmed and reaffirmed, as the basal principle of Co-operation. Each year the delegates at the Congress have reaffirmed their faith, and the managers have continued to run the stores on the Rochdale principle. As far back as 1869 Hughes had said in an address

(37)—Webb's History of Trades Unionism, pp. 259, 260.

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to the Congress, "In one respect, indeed, there has been an apparent backsliding" (since 1852) "for at that time there were certainly (in London) a far greater proportion of productlve associations—in proportion to the whole number of societies—than there are now. . . . . What has been the cause of this? . . . . In those days every society recognized as their main object the making men of their members—training them to feel their relationship to each other, the worth of fellowship in work, the duty of aiding and training their weaker brethren; and regarded the making of profits, the production of wealth, as a means only to this end; while since that time they have to a great extent given in to the prevailing heresy of our day, and have treated the making of profits and the production of wealth as the end and not the means." (38)

In the beginning of the Rochdale pioneers when each of the twenty-eight members was supposed to serve in turn as counterman or cashier the distinction between the Christian Socialist plan of distribution according to labour and the Rochdale plan of distribution according to purchases was not so marked. But even then it is clear that the Rochdale plan would tend to benefit most the member who was already in financial circumstances more fortunate than his fellows. His dividend would be larger in proportion to the excess of his expenditure over theirs, and thus the capitalistic element would be emphasized among fellow workmen. By the time the great co-operative congresses came to debate the question the membership of the societies was advancing rapidly toward the million mark, and had thousands of work people in its employ both as shopmen and as manual workers in its productive establishments. It was, therefore, a question affecting so large a number that the Christian Socialists in the co-operative movement felt that it must be definitely settled.

The question was, however, debated periodically without producing any definite result until the Carlisle Congress in 1887, when Hughes said in his address:

"Two roads lie before us, along both of which we cannot travel, and of which it is extremely important that we should choose the right one." He supported a resolution that the productive wholesales be reorganized as self-governing workshops, and added: "You cannot give men a share in the profits and not do it. Is one right and the other wrong? If one is right and the other wrong, say which is right and which is wrong, and stick to the right and give up the wrong." He closed by saying that "If the co-operators denied the cardinal doctrine of self-governing and profit sharing workshops, he and his followers would retire from the Co-operative Union." (39) The speech was followed by a stormy debate, and finally the whole question was referred to the next Congress.

Certainly at the Dewsbury Congress in 1888 the Idealists had things their own way. The inaugural address was delivered by Mr. Neale, who made a strong plea for the Christian Socialist ideal, and closed with a ringing appeal.

(38)—Proceedings of the Co-operative Congress held in London May 31 and June 1, 2, 3, 1869. Edited by J. M. Ludlow, London, Putnam, Patenoster Row, N. D.
(39)—The Co-operative Movement, Mrs. Webb, p. 177.

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"Fellow Co-operators! it rests with you to realize the ideal that the historian of co-operation ascribes to it. Will you refuse to realize that ideal? Is the historian of coming ages to say of the British workers who form this great Union 'They might have assured the future of Labour; they did sacrifice it at the shrine of "Divi" who rewarded them with the jingle of a few additional pennies in their own pockets.' I hope better things of you. . . . . The air is filled with the sound of the Partnership of Industry. . . . . I cannot bring myself to think that you will turn a deaf ear to the call. Rather do I augur that some Holyoake of the future will be able to record of the co-operators of Great Britain, 'They had moralized distribution and exchange; they went on to moralize production. They had largely diffused among numerous bodies of workingmen and women by means of dividends on their own consumption . . . . wealth with the power belonging to it. They used this power so as permanently to bring within reach of the working population . . . . the advantages of riches without the evils attending the chase after them. They did for the toiling masses to whom they gave employment what they would have wished to be done to themselves; and by so doing they

" 'Rang out the darkness of the land
Rang in the Christ who is to be.' " (40)

Nothing could have breathed more fully the early spirit of the Christian Socialists. The enthusiasm of the old hero's conviction was apparently irresistible, and the Congress reasserted with turbulent enthusiasm the principle of profit-sharing production. Mr. Holyoake said that the decision was "deliberate and decisive." The result, however, was that out of 1503 societies to whom a circular was addressed, asking if they were themselves ready to carry out this principle or to use their influence to have it carried out, only 488 replied. (41) Of these, 274 societies were ready to use their influence, and 180 were willing to consider the adoption of profit-sharing in their own establishments. (42) When, however, these 180 were further investigated at the end of another year, only 35 replied to the questions which were sent them — 14 being associations of producers. (43) The net result being that four societies were ready to recommend a bonus system to their members, and five suggested conflicting schemes of profit-sharing. The rest of the societies either refused to answer or "deemed themselves incompetent to suggest."

As Mrs. Webb points out the fact that the Co-operative Congress is not called upon to transact business, nor even to elect the Central Board, explains to some extent the disparity between the words and the deeds of the co-operators. As a matter of fact, however, the sentiment in favour of the Christian Socialist ideal must be a very shallow one if it evaporates so quickly on being transported from the hall of the

(40)—Inaugural address delivered at the 20th Co-operative Congress, Dewsbury, 1888, by E. V. Neale. Issued by the Cent. Co-operative Board, Manchester, p. 22.
(41)—The Co-operative Movement, p. 177.
(42)—See Co-operative Movement, p. 178.
(43)—It is one of the anomalies of the present co-operative movement that a small number of associations of producers are classed as co-operative societies and take part in the co-operative congress with the great body of over 1300 distributive co-operative stores.

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Co-operative Congress. It is, as a matter of fact, a dangerously easy thing for a brilliant and enthusiastic speaker to rouse an audience to give public expression to noble feelings which each individual is too lazy to put into practice for himself. The influence of men like Hughes and Neale is always inspiring, but the old plan is easiest in practice; and makes the dividend surer, and when the co-operator gets into his quarterly meeting and comes to discuss the reduction of expenses and the increase of profits, he loses sight of the broad field of industrial development, which the wider vision of the idealist opened up to him.

After all one can hardly expect the co-operators to rise above the spirit of the age, and this is unquestionably an age of commercialism. The most far seeing of the working men see that the leading nation of the day is the one which gains and holds the commercial supremacy, and they naturally regard the financial success of their own scheme as of prime importance. But when one looks back at the beneficent influence which the old Christian Socialist leaders have had on the movement, when one sees the untiring energy with which they have helped the co-operators to their present safe position, it is with a feeling of regret that one finds the present movement turning its back upon its former leaders. It seems like a sort of ingratitude. No doubt for the moment the men are right, but there is something after all deeper than what Carlyle called the "Cash-nexus." Ideals do play their part in human development; and, though at times the influence may be obscured, it is, in the light of history, the important role. Even if the Christian Socialist ideal of co-operation was founded on a false economic basis, and the men in rejecting it have proved themselves wiser than their leaders, nevertheless the old Christian Socialists have been of immense service to the co-operative movement, and to England herself, in keeping steadily before men the larger outlook.

It would not be just to close an account of the connection of the Christian Socialists with the labour movement without a reference to the three chief actors. Less has been said, perhaps, about J. M. Ludlow than the other leaders, because for many years his work lay in another field. But to tell the story of his connection with the Friendly Societies would be to write the history of the movement during the long developing period in which he acted as Registrar. His office placed him practically at the head of the workingmen's institutions of self-help and connected them with the machinery for state supervision. The splendid condition in which those societies exist today is a perpetual compliment to the quality of his work and a continual proof of his life of noble unselfishness.

Of the two other leaders, Thomas Hughes was much the better known to the public at large. His work as an author brought his name into prominence many years ago, and his death in 1896 revived the general knowledge of his splendid life of manly, courageous service.

But outside the co-operative world, and beyond the circle of his friends, the name of Edward Vansittart Neale was not so well known. It was, however, to him that the co-operative movement owed most. During the early days of the movement he sacrificed his private fortune to the cause, and when the second chapter of his connection with the co-operative movement began in 1869, he devoted his time to the

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work of General Secretary, as unstintingly as he had previously sacrificed his money. Prof. Brentano was astonished when he came to England in 1883 to see a man already old sacrificing his time and personal comfort to the labour cause. When Neale died in 1892 Brentano wrote of him: "A hero and a saint. Of the names of the men who have done most to bring the social evolution in England into a peaceful way, his will stand first." (44)

(44)—E. V. Neale as a Socialist. Ec. Review III, pp. 38, 175.

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CHAPTER III.

Economic and Religious Changes,—1848-1880.

The year 1877 marks the beginning of a new era in the Christian Socialist movement in England. The movement of 1848 was the direct result of the political and economic conditions of the times. The terror inspired by the Chartist agitation was the immediate cause, and the result was the attempt of Maurice and his followers to meet the threatening economic conditions by the establishment of the productive co-operative societies by means of which they fondly hoped to revolutionize the industrial world. But the movement of 1877 began in a parish guild in East London, and was primarily intended to direct the thought of the members toward the more careful study of the social questions, especially in their relation to the church. No definite social aim was set them. The members of the early Christian Socialist group were mainly the workingmen employed in the societies' co-operative workshops. The members of the later Christian Socialist movement are almost entirely drawn from the upper middle classes, or at least from those distinctly above the grade of artisan; and they confined their attention for some years to a study of social questions with almost no attempt at direct participation in the course of economic or political events. This change in the form of the movement becomes all the more striking when we discover that it still turns back to Maurice as its founder, and finds in his writings, as the earlier members did in his spoken word, the authority for all their acts. So radical a departure from earlier methods must have some deeper foundation than a mere change in interpretation of or difference in emphasis on Maurice's words. The great alteration has come in the changed political, economic and religious conditions of the two periods, though they are separated by little more than a quarter of a century. Probably no period of equal extent in English history marks so great changes in the conditions of living among the labouring classes, and in the religious thought of the well-to-do, as the years from 1840 to 1880. It will be well to consider some of these changes in detail; to endeavour to trace their cause, and to note their influence on the new phase of Christian Socialism.

I.

Science and democracy have been pointed out as the two great forces in the nineteenth century, and looked at broadly, all the great changes may be traced to one or the other of these influences.

On the side of the working classes democracy has given them a much more important relative position in the State, and Science has revolutionized the means of production as well as the factory and the home conditions. On the side of the upper classes democracy has entirely changed the point of view from which they looked at the labour men and their organizations, and science has revolutionized their theology.

The material conditions of the labourer have changed almost beyond

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belief. At the time when Engels wrote his famous book (45) in 1844, the working man lived under miserable conditions and was being plundered by long hours and low wages to a point that made debauchery his one resource of amusement. In 1877 the increase in wages, and the change in home surroundings due to sanitary and dwelling house legislation had raised him so far above his former condition that whereas in 1844 continental critics were predicting social revolution, in less than half a century England was held up to continental Europe as a model of "Social Peace." (46)

In the political field the influence of democracy is still more marked. The extension of the ballot since the Reform Bill of 1832 has finally resulted in practically universal male suffrage. The general drift of legislation is more and more toward state interference. Factory laws supported by an army of inspectors protect the labourer against the capitalist who would take advantage of his position as employer. Since 1870 the state provides and supervises the public education of its children, and in many municipalities the marked tendency toward the municipalization of public works is really nothing more than an evidence of the increasing power of the democracy on legislation.

But the development of leaders from among the ranks of the working men themselves has been one of the most significant of all the changes. It indicates a moral growth in the working classes which is the direct result of their institutions of self-help. Of these the three most important are the friendly societies, where the men have learned to make provision for the future; the trades unions, where they learned the principle of mutual aid; and the co-operative societies, where they stood together successfully against the entire force of outside competition. As this is the historical order in which these institutions came into prominence one may almost trace the expanding power which led the men from the principle of self-help, to mutual aid, and note the growth of morale which gave them power to enter successfully the great fields of competitive business. And these associations have developed not only obligations toward themselves, but also have imposed duties toward the public. Let us glance for a moment at the comparative picture which the workman presents at the two periods.

In 1848 the workingman lived in the slums where the working classes were densely crowded. The street in which he lived, and all the neighbouring streets were composed of long rows of two-story three and four room cottages, with the cellars often used as dwellings. The streets were generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse, without sewers or gutters, but supplied with foul stagnant pools instead. (47) The atmosphere in such streets may better be imagined than described, especially when we realize that in fine weather lines are stretched across the street and hung with wet clothing. It is the usual thing for the family consisting of a man, his wife, and four or five children to occupy one room, and the rent for this in London averaged

(45)—Engels. Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844. Swan, Sonnerschein & Co., London.

(46)—In 1890 a book by a well known German economist appeared entitled "Social Peace." In this the English labor movement is held up to Europe as a model to be followed. "Social Peace," by Schulze-Gaeverintz, Swan, Sonnerschein & Co., London.

(47)—Engels. Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844, p. 26.

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about four shillings per week. The usual food consisted of oatmeal without milk for breakfast, and potatoes for the other meals. Meat is an unusual luxury. The man's wages in the factory, if he was fortunate enough to have steady work, were perhaps 15s. a week. But many of his mates were out of work. The year 1844 was at the close of a period of transition. The recent introduction of labor-saving machinery led to the discharge of many old hands and the substitution of women and children. The men thus thrown out of employment in many cases did the housework, cooked and mended, and "minded the baby," while the wife and the older children left at half past five in the morning for the factory and came back at half past seven or eight in the evening. Against these conditions the Unions had proved themselves almost powerless and the record shows but a small percentage of successful strikes. Certainly no man could hope to save under such conditions, and if he was fortunate enough to belong to a Friendly Society about all he could look forward to was a decent funeral.

In less than half a century later the worst of the slums in London, and in most other great towns, were rapidly disappearing. The workman lived in two rooms, perhaps in a "model dwelling," for which he paid seven to eight shillings per week. The building is constructed with every sanitary precaution, and kept clean. The laborer went to and from his work through well paved and carefully sewered streets, and perhaps met as he left his home in the morning, one of the sanitary inspectors whose business it is to see that proscribed limits of cleanliness are maintained. His friend across the way no longer lived in a damp cellar with windows below the level of the filthy street, for such places are now declared by law uninhabitable. His food had greatly improved, both in quantity and quality, and meat had ceased to be an unusual luxury.

At the factory the change in conditions was no less marked. The series of experiments forced on the masters by the Unions had taught them that in spite of the great part played by machinery, improved conditions and shorter hours of labor actually tended to increase production at least in the more highly developed industries. The old unsanitary and ill-ventilated factories were swept away, and kept away by state regulation and inspectors. Women and children work only under greatly restricted conditions, and the workman's hours of labor have sunk from fourteen and even eighteen hours a day to eight and ten. His money wages show an advance which in many cases is equivalent to over 100 per cent., and even the wages of agricultural labourers have risen, though in a comparatively slight degree. (48) The trades unions, too, which in the 40s were still struggling for recognition, have come to occupy a place of power. In 1880 they had a strong reserve fighting fund, and granted besides out-of-work and sick pay to members.

Finally the state and private philanthropy both take an active interest in his hours of recreation, and public libraries, lectures and playgrounds all do their part to make him a better man, both in body and mind. Under such conditions it is not to be wondered at that he is a better type than his compeer in 1848; that he is more intelligent, more

(See Note 48 on following page.

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self-respecting and much more independent of his social superiors. For all these reasons it was naturally much easier for Maurice to gather a group of workmen to discuss the economic and political conditions than for his present day followers. The labour man today would turn much more readily to his own leaders.

The fact that the Guild of St. Matthew turned its attention to the agricultural problem is partly due to this new condition which prevailed in the manufacturing industries, but much more to the rapid economic development of this period. Ever since the days of Cromwell, England may be said to have had a perpetual Irish question, and Englishmen are in this way accustomed to discussions on all phases of the agricultural problem. During the last part of the seventies there had been an unusual amount of discussion, and the question of English agriculture was also beginning to demand attention. The rapid growth of manufactures had withdrawn labour and capital from the farming industries and necessitated the importation of larger and larger quantities of corn. The competition with the new lands of the Americas, too, was fast forcing the English farmer to the wall. Agricultural prices fell rapidly and wages and profits suffered severely. Naturally the agricultural labourer was by no means holding his own in the general advance, and was actually sinking in the comparative industrial scale as his fellow workmen in the manufacturing trades advanced. When the Guild of St. Matthew therefore called special attention to the agricultural labourer, and when many members of the Guild became active workers in the English Land Restoration League, they were merely suiting themselves to the demand of the times. The particular form which this work took, which will be explained in the account of the Guild itself, was due to the influence of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" and to Alfred Russell Wallace's "Land Nationalization."

(48)—The following list of wages is copied by Schulze-Gaevernitz from Robert Giffin's "Progress of the Working Classes" (London, 1884) and gives some notion of the rise in wages between 1830 and 1880.

OCCUPATION.	PLACE.	Wages 50 years ago per week.	Wages present time per week.	Increase Amount.	Per cent.
Carpenters	Manchester	24s	34s	10s —	42%
"	Glasgow	14s	26s	12s —	85%
Miners	Staffordshire	2s 8d	4s	1s 4d	50%
Pattern Weavers	Huddersfield	16s	25s	9s —	55%
Weavers	"	12s	26s	14s —	115%
Weavers (men)	Bradford	8s 3d	20s 6d	12s 3d	150%
Spinning (children)		4s 5d	11s 6d	7s 1d	160%

Nor does this represent his entire gain, for prices have fallen, especially for corn, which has always been the workman's staff of life. "The average price of wheat was 58s. 7d. between 1837 and 1846, and 48s. 9d. between 1874 and 1884." That this rise in wages and fall in prices of articles of the laborer's consumption has resulted in a rise in the standard of living is proved from the statistics which show that the consumption of the primary articles of food and luxury has increased enormously. The consumption per capita of tea and sugar, for example, was about four times as great in 1880 as in 1840. The statistics also show a distinct fall in the death rate.

See Prof. Schulze-Gaevernitz, "Social Peace," London, 1893, p. 283.

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II.

The half-century from 1830 to 1880 marks a greater upheaval in English theological thought than any period since the reformation. The Oxford movement on the one hand, and the application of the scientific method to theological and biblical research on the other, each in turn convulsed the church with a struggle which for the moment seemed to the participants at least to threaten her very existence.

The eighteenth century marks a low point in the religious life of England. The sects tended to become theological rather than religious, and the established church was hopelessly in the clutches of an indifference which applauded the fox-hunting parson, and regarded church livings as plums of patronage to be doled out to the fool of the family. The picture of the parson in the contemporaneous novel is not flattering to the religious demands of the congregations, but it seems to be a fairly true picture of a disproportionately large number of the clergy. Wrapped in a cold formalism these men preached a dreary morality divorced from all vital religion. The reaction was severe. The Wesleys and Whitfield preached the doctrine of repentance and justification by faith to congregations which were wrought to the highest emotional pitch, and swept thousands into a great religious revival. Even after they left the church and founded Methodism, their influence was strong among a large body of the clergy, who were known as the Evangelicals, and these men kept alive in their parishes many of the Wesleyan practices. But Wesleyanism was distinctly a middle-class movement, and did not touch either the intellectual or the hereditary aristocracy. It is needless to say that throughout the eighteenth century there was always to be found in the church a small body of devoted men who took the highest, most unselfish view of their profession. But it was not till the century was well passed, and the influence of the shallow optimism of Paley had begun to wane, that a group of young men at Oxford began a counter-reformation which was destined to create a new party in the Church.

When the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, and the new Parliament met, many of the conservatives, and especially those among the clergy, were in a state of serious alarm. The passage of Lord Stanley's Irish Church Temporalities Bill (1833), suppressing one-half of the Irish Episcopate, seemed to them to justify their gloomiest forebodings. Among those who watched this movement with the keenest interest was a group of young Oxford scholars, who had for some years been preparing themselves to arouse the Church by the study of early Church doctrine and practices. They began with the publication of a series of "Tracts for the Times," which soon set England ablaze. Hurrell Froude, Newman, Pusey, Wilberforce and other well-known names contributed to the series, which, beginning with the Irish Bishoprics, went on to advocate Apostolic succession, the efficacy of the Sacraments, Priestly absolution, and the authority of the Church, until it finally ended, in 1841, in Newman's famous Tract XC., which was an attempt to show that the Thirty-nine Articles were not inconsistent with Roman Catholic doctrine. The final withdrawal of Newman and a large number of his followers into the Roman Catholic Church in 1845 is a

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matter of history. But the withdrawal of these men by no means ended their influence in the body they had left. The excitement attendant upon the entire discussion led primarily to a distinct revival of interest in religion, and after their withdrawal, many practices which they revived tended to keep this interest alive. Today the High Church practices are a matter of every-day occurrence, and the continued discussion of their more radical innovations has made them familiar knowledge even to the casual reader. But in 1840 auricular confession and absolution, the efficacy of the sacraments and the authority of the clergy, seemed strange and popish doctrines. The substitution of the word mass for the old familiar "communion," and the emphasis laid on the conformity to Church fasts and feasts in their proper order and season all tended to deepen the suspicions with which the easy-going Churchman regarded these startling innovations. But, however questionable the influence of these practices might be in tending to rouse desires which only the Church of Rome could properly claim to satisfy, it was unquestionably true that the Oxford movement had touched a fundamental truth in practical morality. The influence of a steady habit of religious thought, developed by the regular attendance on frequent services, was much more conducive to the upbuilding of Christian character than the periodic excitements which the methods of Wesley had brought into a certain section of the Church, and the emphasis on the Christian year brought into prominence at stated intervals doctrines which the enthusiastic Evangelical had been in danger of overlooking. It is these phases of the Oxford movement which exert most influence on the Christian Socialists today. Doctrine and worship alike are a means to an end—that end is the upbuilding of the Christ-like character.

The second phase in the religious development of this period was of a quite different character. The first was in a sense at least a reaction from Methodism and came from within the Church. The second was entirely due to the development of science, and was forced upon the Church from without. At about the time the excitement consequent upon the large withdrawals to Rome had begun to cool, a section of thinking men in the Church were already becoming uneasy over the discoveries of geology which seemed to throw discredit upon the opening chapters of Genesis. But before they could prepare them for the fray England was suddenly roused to the wildest excitement by the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species.

It is today difficult to realize fully the terror with which a generation educated to believe in the verbal inspiration of the Bible regarded the publication of this book. But the acceptance of its fundamentals required a complete readjustment of one's religious philosophy, and at first religious men might well have felt that if one began throwing over old beliefs, there might be no logical standing ground short of atheism. The very next year the scientific method was applied to the Bible for the first time in an English book, and the English Church was thrown into a panic by the publication of "Essays and Reviews." This book was a collection of essays by seven well-known scholars and thinkers, treating leading religious questions in the light of the new thought. Its cause and purpose is made clear in a letter from Jowett to Stanley in

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1858, asking him to join with others in a volume of Theological essays. "The object," he says, "is to say what we think freely within the limits of the Church of England." . . . . "We do not wish to do anything rash or irritating to the public or to the University, but we are determined not to submit to this abominable system of terrorism which prevents the statement of the plainest facts, and makes true theology or theological education impossible. Pusey and his friends are perfectly aware of your opinions, and the Dean's and Temple's and Muller's, but they are determined to prevent your expressing them." (49, 50) The book introduced the reader to the higher criticism, and for the first time the Bible was subject to the treatment accorded to other historical works. While somewhat crude in some of its statements, it was in general the presentation of what the ordinary Broad Churchman accepts today as a matter of course. But the theories of geological and biological research had not been applied before to the Bible nor had the Old Testament been tried in the searchlight of historical criticism, which relegated much of the earlier portion to the realms of tradition which all early peoples hold about their origin and development. Dean Church wrote to a friend in 1861 with reference to Darwin's Origin of Species: "The book I have no doubt would be the subject still of a great row if there was not a much greater row going on about Essays and Reviews." (51)

"The effect of this book," says Leckey, "in making the religious questions which it discussed familiar to the great body of educated men, was probably by far the most important of its consequences." (52) But in the meantime two of the writers had been selected for trial before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. When they were finally acquitted Stanley summed up the case and wrote, "That the Church of England does not hold, 1, Verbal Inspiration; 2, Imputed Righteousness; 3, Eternity of Torment, is now I trust fixed forever. I hope that all will now go on smoothly and that the Bible may be really read without those terrible nightmares." (53)

Maurice regarded the publication of "Essays and Reviews" with considerable disfavor. He wrote Mr. Ludlow soon after their publication, "If these confusions are to be taken as any settlement of questions, as any substitute for that which is believed in Christendom at the present day, if any human being is content to rest in these confusions, the effect must be mischievous. But the acknowledgment of them may not in the end prove mischievous. It has of course two issues; thorough infidelity or a deeper faith. If we shrink from that issue, if we are afraid to try it, we decide for the first alternative, we have ceased to believe in God." (54) On the same subject he wrote the Bishop of Ar-

(49)—Life of Benj. Jowett, Vol. I, p. 275, by Evelyn, Abbot & Lewis Campbell, London, John Murray, 1897.
(50)—The subjects with their authors were: Education of the World, Frederick Temple; Bunsen's Biblical Researches, Roland Williams; On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity, Baden Powell; The National Church, Henry Bristowe Wilson; Mosaic Cosmogony, C. W. Goodwin; Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750, Mark Pattison; The Interpretation of Scripture, Benj. Jowett.
(51)—Jowett's Life, Vol. I, 290, Note.
(52)—Locky. Democracy and Liberty, 1, 425.
(53)—Life of Stanley, 11, 44.
(54)—Life of Maurice, Vol. II, 390.

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gyle a little later: "I am frightened more than I can express at the temper of those who are busy in the condemnation of their brethren, and are not busy in the discovery and confession of their own heresies and sins." (55) These letters were characteristic of his whole thought—a willingness to accept all truth, and a mind keen to reconcile the new with the old. But the fundamental which has impressed itself on his followers was the fact that all truth was of value only in so far as it influenced character.

Official recognition of the implied heresy of these new teachings ended with the trial of the authors of "Essays and Reviews," but beneath the surface the struggle of the two parties has gone on even up to today. The end was inevitable, however, when the inherent truth of the new discoveries won a place for their fundamental principles in general education. As the new generation came up they demanded a reconciliation, or at least a readjustment which should enable a man to accept the current facts of scientific knowledge without appearing to deny the fundamentals of religion. And some went a step further and asked that these be brought into accord with many helpful religious practices which had come as an heritage from the Oxford Movement. The demand for this reconciliation was one reason why the men who had been brought up as disciples of Pusey turned to Maurice's writings for help.

Certainly both the impatient radical and the reactionary conservative can learn a lesson from this connection of Maurice with present day Christian Socialism. The man who was expelled from King's College, London, because of his revolutionary socialistic theories; the man who but for his dislike of all parties would have been the acknowledged leader of the party opposed to Newman and Pusey; this man has slowly permeated the thought of the party opposed to him, until he is today the acknowledged Master of the society, which has for one of its headquarters the house which Pusey founded at Oxford.

The connection of thought, however, despite its clearness in general outline, has too many individual differences to be entirely explicable by the general principle that the radical of one age is the conservative of the next. Nor is the attempt to trace the historical development altogether satisfactory in its results. The two vital elements in the English church which have united to form the thought of the Christian Socialist of today are the Broad Church and the High Church movements.

1. The Broad Church party is the direct outgrowth of the scientific discoveries of the middle of the century, and some of its ablest men contributed to "Essays and Reviews." They start from the fundamental theory of Maurice that dogma is comparatively unimportant except in so far as it influences character and they have found an able representative in the Christian Social Union in the late Bishop of Durham. He was at Cambridge when Maurice was appointed Professor there in 1866, and learned from him the Christian Socialist answer to the social problem. How deeply he was influenced by his contact with Maurice his later writings bear witness. As President of the Christian Social Union he did much to keep alive these ideas, four of his pamphlets being accepted as officially expressing the general principles of the Union.

(55)—Maurice's Life, Vol. II, 391.

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2. The High Church, or, as they prefer to call themselves, the "Catholic" element, stands for the corporate life of the Church. They are the direct successors of the Oxford Movement and are represented in the Christian Socialism of today by two distinct branches. The first is through Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, who has been the leader of the Guild of St. Matthew since its beginning. He was a student at Cambridge under Maurice and claims to be his immediate follower. A study of the Guild which he has founded, however, makes clear how far afield his extreme High-Churchmanship carries him from the principles and practices of the early Christian Socialists. The second branch of the High Church element is quite independent and is represented by the Bishop of Worcester (Rt. Rev. Charles Gore), Canon Scott-Holland and many of the other young leaders of the Christian Social Union.

Thomas Hill Green was the great power at Oxford when these men were undergraduates. His philosophy was strongly Hegelian, and he was working with Arnold Toynbee to construct a social philosophy which should represent the Hegelian idea of the world as the manifestation of Divine Will. To this group of enthusiastic young High Church scholars, however, the Church, not the State, as Hegel had taught, was social ideal, and the way to make the world the true manifestation of divine will was to bring the whole of life into the Church. Maurice reached much the same conclusion but from a different direction. The "Kingdom of Christ" which he wished to see established was a universal brotherhood of mankind where competition should cease and mutual brotherliness make each consider his neighbor's good even before his own. He believed the Church to be the invisible body composed of all the followers of Christ. The High Churchman believed it to be a visible "Holy Catholic and Apostolic" body composed of those who accepted certain rites and doctrines necessary for salvation. Maurice was guided by his love of humanity and sought to bring the world into the Church, because the Church offered the surest remedy for the misery which he saw in the world about him. The High Church Christian Socialist, however, is moved primarily by his love for the Church, and with no less love for humanity works for the Church, believing that in so doing he is working for the best good of all mankind. When the day comes that the Church and humanity are actually co-extensive there will be no difference between the two points of view. Of course one must not overlook the fact that the High Churchman encounters with bravery and wisdom a condition in many of the slums where spiritual work is, for the present, impossible; nor does he forget the influence which as a citizen he must use rightly for the good of the state. Nevertheless, until the time comes when the Church and humanity are one, an unmistakable difference will still underlie the two principles. Often and often the two will work absolutely together; but underneath will always be felt the subtle difference between the Christian Socialism of Maurice and that of his High Church followers.

The striking element common to both parties, and always characteristic of Maurice, is the demand for character, which is the main feature of the present reaction from Evangelicalism—a demand that the revelation of God to the human heart shall make the disciple of Christ more

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like his Master here and now, whether that revelation come directly to the individual, or through the ministration of the priesthood.

But this, while it offers a practical working basis for union, does not satisfactorily explain the logical theory of reconciliation of two opposing schools of thought. Nor can the historical development which has been sketched offer more than a suggestion for this union. One or two of the leaders of the Christian Social Union in answer to the direct question have answered frankly that they felt no need for such logical explanation; and probably they are right. There is a deeper foundation for truth than logic can always offer. Starting from Maurice's fundamental of the paramount importance of character, his present day followers might well accept truth wherever they find it, and for the present ignore any logical inconsistencies between Maurice and Pusey, between Darwin's "Origin of Species" and the early Church Fathers. Much that startled the world in Darwin's great book has become the commonplace of the schoolroom, and educated men can no longer ignore it or frown it down. Much that the fervid Evangelical regarded as disguised popery in the Oxford Movement has been proved to be merely a simple direct help to practical Christian living. To refuse to face the issue which science raised would have been to accept one horn of Maurice's dilemma—"thorough infidelity." But to meet it squarely and to begin to reconcile present knowledge with ancient practice was to take the first step in the other direction toward "a deeper faith." Each man must in his own experience find the particular form of presentation in which truth makes its most direct appeal to his own heart. Experience shows that the form differs widely for different types of individuals. But it has been characteristic of the Christian Church that she gathered to herself the best truth in each age and with holy wisdom sanctified it and reconciled it with her past for the healing of her children. The position of the Christian Social Union, and to a lesser extent of the Guild of St. Matthew seems to be in keeping with this spirit. Without any attempt at a logical defense of the theological reconciliation, which may be more or less acceptable according to one's ecclesiastical affiliations, is it not possible to recognize and applaud this breadth of spiritual development which is ready to accept and to use all truth?

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CHAPTER IV.

The Guild of St. Matthew.

The Guild of St. Matthew was founded on St. Peter's Day, 1877, by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam. Mr. Headlam had been a student at the University under Maurice and Kingsley and had learned Christian Socialism from personal contact with the leaders. In 1877, while curate of St. Matthew's Church, Bethnal Green, East London, he started the society as a parish guild. Its objects were directed toward a better observance of the prayer-book rules of worship; to the removal of prejudices against the sacraments of the Church; and the promotion of "friendly intercourse, recreation and education" among the Guild members. Not long after this, Mr. Headlam resigned his curacy. His strong personality had, however, attached a number of young men to him permanently, and it was decided to continue the Guild of St. Matthew, giving it a wide scope and appealing to greater numbers than could be done by a mere parish society.

The society presented the somewhat startling combination of extreme High Church principles with Radical social views. Today this has become the natural order of association, but when the society was formed the men who were conservatives in ecclesiastical affairs and radicals in politics were much more unusual. It was therefore with considerable surprise that people heard Mr. Headlam say, "Our position toward Maurice and Kingsley is that of enthusiastic disciples. We know that some of their experiments were failures, but we think we are carrying out their principles more faithfully than those who merely go in for co-operation." (56) In their work among the agricultural labourers they are certainly following in the practical footsteps of Maurice, but their position in ecclesiastical affairs shows a much greater debt to the Oxford Movement than to the theology of Maurice.

Starting with the assumption that the opposition to the Church came largely from a misconception of her purpose and a misunderstanding of her doctrines, Mr. Headlam aimed to found an organization which could first of all meet the current atheistic attacks upon her. That such a society could be properly founded outside the shelter of the Church Mr. Headlam did not for a moment believe. To his philosophy the Church claimed all the activities of daily life, and so the Church Guild was the natural form of organization.

"Guilds," (57) he says, "generally bear witness to truths and do work which, in the stress of ordinary parochial and diocesan affairs might be forgotten or neglected. There is another thing, too, to be remembered about Guilds: they are the best possible preventatives against that most fatal sin, the sin of Schism. . . . . If the holy men in a hurry who founded the various sects, had but founded Guilds instead, what might not England have been spared." (58)

(56)—Socialism of Today, E. Laveleye. Chapter on Socialism by G. H. Orpen, p. 303, Field & Tuer, London.
(57)—The Guild of St. Matthew: An Appeal to Churchmen, p. 5, seq. London at the office of the Society, 1890.
(58)—Ibid.

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One natural and perhaps inevitable result of the critical discussion of the Bible which was just filtering down to the working classes was the rapid spread of atheism among the common people. "Bible-smashing," as it was popularly called, was the favorite task of the Sunday afternoon orator; and he might well have been encouraged by the waning influence of the Church among the labouring classes during these years.

Chares Bradlaugh was one of the best representatives of this class of atheist orators. He was a man of character and wide influence. Born in 1833, at the age of twenty he was already lecturing in the Hall of Science in London. He was a radical opponent of Christianity, but was also opposed to the popular socialistic schemes, and after a few years of preparatory lecturing exerted a wide influence both on the platform and in his paper called "The National Reformer." In 1880 he was elected to Parliament, but refused to take the oath as he denied the existence of God. Finally after he had been elected for the third time, he took his seat in 1886, and during the next five years gained a high reputation from his keen sense and fine debating powers. As a self-made man he had an especial appeal to the working classes and he possessed a strong influence among them. By aggressive churchmen he was usually chosen as their special object of attack, and he always proved himself a worthy opponent. When Bradlaugh died in 1891 the Guild was forced to shift the ground of its attack.

Its principles were set out originally in its three objects and three rules. The objects are:

"I. To get rid, by every possible means, of the existing prejudices, especially on the part of 'secularists,' against the Church, her sacraments and doctrines; and to endeavor to justify God to the people.

"II. To promote frequent and reverent Worship in the Holy Communion, and a better observance of the teaching of the Church of England as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.

"III. To promote the study of social and political questions in the light of the Incarnation. The three rules are:

"1. To carry out object I.—collectively (e. g., by means of lectures, classes, the dissemination of suitable literature, etc.), and individually by personal influence.

"2. To communicate on all Great Festivals, and at least to be present at a celebration of the Holy Communion as regularly as possible on Sundays and Holy days.

"3. To meet annually in United Worship on the Feast of St. Matthew (Sept. 21st), which day shall be the Festival of the Guild. (Members at too great a distance from London to attend the Special Festival Service of the Guild, or otherwise bona fide prevented from doing so, are considered to fulfil this rule by communicating for the Intention of the Guild on St. Matthew's Day or within the octave.)"

The objects of the Guild stated in this brief form open a wide field for action. One asks at once just which of the many paths the Guild follows. It will perhaps be easiest to make this clear by discussing the three objects in the light of Mr. Headlam's various public utterances, for up to the present time Mr. Headlam has been the recognized mouthpiece of the Guild.

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The first object is, "To get rid of every possible means of existing prejudices, especially on the part of secularists, against the Church, her sacraments and doctrines, and to endeavor to justify God to the people." The fundamental for right living is a proper faith. "We protest," says Mr. Headam, "against the notion that belief is of no importance. A want of a faith and a bad faith alike impoverish life, the former inevitably leads to the latter. Individualism in religion (Protestantism, Atheism, etc.) destroys the bond between man and man, making the believer other-worldly and inhuman, and the unbeliever self-centred and unsocial." (59) The problem which the unbeliever presents is simple, whatever may be the difficulty of its accomplishment. He must be brought into the Church. But it is the believer with a bad faith who is difficult to manage. He it is who thinks and talks as though "other-worldliness" was the note of a true Christian,—"as if his main object should be to get to Heaven after death." This point of view, however, Mr. Headlam points out, is by no means in accord with Christ's life and teachings. "Who, according to Jesus Christ, was the man who was in Hell? It was the rich man who was in Hell; not simply because he was rich, but he was there because he allowed the contrast between rich and poor to go on as a matter of course, day after day, without taking any kind of pains to put a stop to it. That, according to Christ, was the worst state into which it was possible for a man to fall." (60) Christ came as the friend of the poor, and gave them His especial blessing. He said that these poor men, notwithstanding their poverty, were better and happier than their opponents, and we can well understand that that was true; but that statement gives no sanction to the teaching that has been drawn from it, that poverty—especially the grinding poverty which is found in our modern centres of civilization—in the normal condition of things; that the poor have to put up with their lot here, looking for a great reward hereafter; and that the ministers of Christ should teach the poor to be resigned and submissive, and tell them of the rich reward in the next world. On the contrary it is the duty of every minister of Christ to stir up a divine discontent in the hearts of the people. But the teaching of Christ went even further. He talked a great deal about the Kingdom of Heaven, which he had come to found, and was constantly comparing it with the every-day world around Him. This Kingdom, however, is not, as many suppose, a place up in the clouds. It is a new society and point of view of life here and now. "Live," Christ said, " . . . . as members of the righteous society which I have come to found upon earth, and then you will be clothed as beautifully as the lily, and fed as surely as the birds." (61) But we have lived on the opposite plan, as rivals and competitors instead of as mutual helpers. To quote Maurice, whom Headlam is following very closely here, we have made competition, not co-operation, the basis of our actions. Mr. Headlam has no co-operative panacea to offer, but he holds out the Church to the workingman as the one cure for his social ills.

(59)—Leaflet entitled, "The Guild of St. Matthew. What It Is and Who Should Join It." Issued by the Society February, 1895.
(60)—Christian Socialism, by S. D. Headlam, p. 4. (Fabian Tract, No. 42.)
(61)—Christian Socialism, by Rev. S. D. Headlam, p. 3, compare "The Kingdom of Christ" by F. D. Maurice.

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The centre of Christian worship, however, is what Mr. Headlam has come of late years to call the Mass. When the second object of the Guild was formulated some years ago it read: "To promote frequent and reverent worship in the Holy Communion, and a better observance of the teaching of the Church of England as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer." In explaining this in 1895, Mr. Headlam wrote, "The Mass is the most important Christian service, and the most easily understood. It is ordained by Christ himself, and must be for that reason the chief centre of Christian worship. Its pomp is an insult to Mammon-worship. As the Lord's supper (i. e., the Christian Passover), it sets forth Jesus Christ, the great Emancipator; it ennobles the common things of life, which the 'superior person' pretends to despise. As the Eucharist (or sacrifice of Joy and Thanksgiving) it is the antidote to sourness and gloom; it dispels dark thoughts about God and man; for hope makes men reformers, despair makes the reactionary. As the Holy Communion it pledges us to a Holy Communion, it protests against man-made barriers, it brings men to God and holds them together. As the Holy sacrifice it teaches the democratic lesson that Christ and those who are like Him, serve rather than rule; give rather than take. It humbles a man before God and his fellows, and thus drives away cant, hypocrisy and self-righteousness." (62) But this is capable of an interpretation which might fail to make clear the sacramental attitude of the Guild. The Sacrament has a much more definite power, for in it we find the full blessing when it is attended by "people believing in the real Presence." (63) It is, Mr. Headlam points out, because in such a service we worship the present power in this present world that we differ from a religion which gives men the Bible and tells them to search it for eternal life. We offer a sacramental religion which exalts the man; one whom you can know and by whom you are attracted and which says: seeing Him you see God. While openly advocating the restoration of the Mass to what they believe to be "its proper place in every Church in England," they are by no means ready to stop there. The Warden says frankly that he believes that the present attack on "Catholic practices" is being made "in order that eventually and by degrees all those who want Catholic doctrine and practice may be forced into submission to the Roman See in order to get it. I hope and believe," he goes on to say, "that we may trust our Bishops not thus to play into the hands of the Papacy. It is our right and our duty to foster, among other things to which our enemies object, a reasonable reverence for our Lady, which surely includes the right to speak to her, and the offering of the Holy Sacrifice not only for the living but also for the dead (as was done as far back, at any rate, as the burial of the mother of St. Augustine); what common-sense being can object to these things?" (64) But if Mr. Headlam is somewhat extreme in his own views, he is at least equally strenuous in demanding for others the same toleration for their beliefs that he demands for his own.

To those who have read Maurice, it is evident how far this branch

(62)—The Guild of St. Matthew; What It Is and Who Should Join It, p. 2.
(63)—"The Catholicity of the English Church," London, October, 1898, p. 9, by Rev. S. D. Headlam.
(64)—The Catholicity of the English Church, p. 10, by Rev. S. D. Headlam.

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of the Christian Socialistic Movement has wandered from the fundamental principles of the founders. The only trace of the early movement on its intellectual side is the broad tolerance which always characterized Maurice, and the emphasis on the value of the Church as a much neglected means of help for the working classes. But the Church to Maurice meant something very different from the extreme sacramentalism of Headlam. Much as Maurice hated party tags, he has always been looked up to as the profound thinker of the Broad Church movement. When Mr, Headlam poses as his disciple and follower, one can only ask wonderingly, where in Maurice's teachings such doctrines are to be found?

The third object of the Guild is "To promote the study of social and political questions in the light of the Incarnation." This Mr. Headlam explains as follows:

"Men must be made to consider social questions; for as God became Man, human life is of divine importance. Christ's Body is still wounded wherever human life is maimed, whether by luxury or poverty. Since all men are God's sons we are bound to claim equal opportunities for all, and it is evident that the present inequality of opportunity is due to the fact that the three main elements of production, the three instruments for the support of human life—Education, Capital and Land—are in the possession of the few and beyond the control of the whole people." (65) It is self evident that the present conditions are built on a system of injustice, and that it cannot be God's will that a few should have far too much and the many lead starved and often suffering lives. But men must be roused to appreciate present conditions. The first step is education; and education for duties. This leads to common work and hence to the common possession of the means of production. But the Guild goes one step further. "Christ," they say, "by precept and example forbade idleness and therefore the receiving of interest which is the great modern means of getting money without working for it, and has always been condemned by the Church under the name of usury. . . . . We do not necessarily condemn a man for receiving interest, as things are at present, if he gives his labour to the community in return. But we say that it would be to his advantage if he could receive his money in the form of wages earned, and that it would remove the temptation to selfishness, pride and idleness." (66)

The most important form of interest, however, is in rent for land especially in cities where the value is entirely due to the congestion of population and in no sense to the labour of the landlord. The solution of the problem lies briefly in the acceptance of Henry George's theory of the Single Tax. Mr. Headlam states clearly that the main cause of the misery and poverty which the Church exists to fight is the monopoly by the few of the land. This burden upon the land forces down the wages of the agricultural labourer until he is driven to the towns to seek a living wage, adds to the already congested labour market, and increases the burden of Christian charity. "'We appeal to you," says Mr. Headlam, "with reference to the evils of poverty, not that they may be allevi-

(65)—The Guild of St. Matthew; What It Is and Who Should Join It, p. 2, seq.
(66)—Ibid, p. 3.

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ated by Christian charity, but that they may be prevented by Christian justice." (67) And this justice is to work itself out without compensation to the landlords. For from the point of view of the highest Christian morality, it is the landlords who ought to compensate the people. But in the practical working out of the reform the landlord will merely be taxed out of existence, i. e., the rate of taxation will be slowly raised until the tax exceeds the net income from the property, when the landlord will be very willing to turn his property over to the state. This, then, is the final answer to the problem of present injustice; a thoroughgoing Socialism worked out along the lines of the single tax. Nor are they content with mere theory. Mr. Headlam and other members of the Guild are active in carrying on the work of the English Land Restoration League, some account of whose work will be given later on.

The Guild was founded in 1877 and for the first few years of its existence the reports of its work are very meagre. By 1884, however, the work was in full swing. During this year the Guild printed a list of twenty-four lecturers with one hundred and thirty subjects, and at the annual meeting it adopted resolutions which proclaimed unmistakably its socialism. Mr. Headlam, as will be seen from the tenor of the resolutions, had already become an enthusiastic convert to Henry Georgism, and he took up with his usual enthusiasm, the theory of Land Nationalization. The resolutions read:

"That whereas the present contrast between the great body of the workers who produce much and consume little, and of those classes who produce little and consume much is contrary to the Christian doctrines of Brotherhood and Justice; this meeting urges on all Churchmen the duty of supporting such measures as will tend (a) to restore to the people the value which they gave to the land; (b) to bring about a better distribution of the wealth created by labour; (c) to give the whole body of the people a voice in their own government; (d) to abolish failse standards of worth and dignity.

Translaetd into the later action of the Guild these four resolutions meant: The nationalization of land. The state ownership of the means of production. Abolition of Church patronage, and the general social arrangements of the Socialist state. During the next year, to use their own phrase, "the gospel was preached" in Abercam, Folkstone, Liverpool, Northampton, Oldham, Plymouth, Preston and Wellingborough. Conferences were organized and a big meeting held in the new schools at Oxford. The Guild owned a decent and growing library, and was attracting so much attention to itself that articles on it appeared in the Australian Kapunda Herald. When we realized that this activity came from a society which numbered 126 members, only 40 of whom were clergymen, we gain some notion of the enthusiasm of the members and the earnestness of their work.

During the next few years a change was passing over England. The bitterness against the Church began to disappear, and primary principle which the Guild had incorporated in its first object was no longer the best means of bringing the working classes back to their allegiance to the Church. On the other hand, certain phases of Socialism gained a firm

(67)—The Guild of St. Matthew. An Appeal to Churchmen, p. 13, by Rev. S. D. Headlam.

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hold on the imagination of the more intelligent among the people. The Hyde Park Sunday afternoon orator no longer exposed the geological weaknesses of the first chapters of Genesis. But the questions of state interference and the "Living Wage" taxed his lungs to their uttermost. Just at this time, too, Mr. Bradlaugh died and Mrs. Besant gave up everything to devote herself to Theosophy. "And so," said the Church Reformer, "Secularism in England loses its two chiefest champions, and the Guild of St. Matthew two generous opponents." (68) The Society now held itself ready to furnish lecturers to any club or society which held lectures with a discussion on religious and social questions. The growth of the Society began to produce the inevitable weakness which comes from the lack of close personal knowledge between the members, and the plan was adopted of organizing local branches to bring the members closer together.

The annual meeting was one of the stormiest in the history of the Guild. The Guild was accustomed to take action on burning questions of the day, and some years before had supported Mr. Bradlaugh in his controversy over the question of his Parliamentary Oath. The school-board elections were just about to take place, and in accordance with this precedent Mr. Headlam introduced into the meeting a manifesto in favour of the Board Schools. Party feeling was running high, and Mr. Headlam's manifesto was certainly an extreme partisan document. He announced the superiority of the Board School system with its municipal management, to the Voluntary Schools, where arithmetic must be taught under the supervision of the clergy. He pointed out that it was the duty of the Church, as such, not of the secular schools, to teach sound doctrine to the children of the parish, and ended by calling on the parishes to give up their Voluntary Schools in the hands of the school board. His position was perfectly logical, but so was that of the High Churchman who opposed him, and who argued that if religion were the most important thing to be taught, the day school was the place, and that therefore the day school must be under the parish control. One very prominent London clergyman who opposed, said in closing, "If you care to press it against the protests of your brethren, you will carry it, of course. But I will venture to predict that you will regret your victory, when you see where it leads." (69) Nevertheless, Mr. Headlam insisted on pressing his vote and forced the Guild to accept his manifesto.

This incident is more or less typical of the greatest element of weakness in the Guild, and explains why the Guild of St. Matthew, which is in a way the expression of a growing English sentiment, has never had a larger membership, and why a new society formed along much the same lines has already far surpassed it in numbers and influence.

Another mistake which the Guild has made is in allowing itself to be identified with the particular political party to which its leaders happened to belong. At one time the South London group held a meeting to consider the coming London school board election, and having decided to support the Progressive candidate, adjourned in a body to the neighbouring hall where their candidate was holding a public meeting. Such

(68)—Church Reformer, October, 1891, p. 232. This paper as long as it continued publication was the organ of the Guild.
(69)—Ch. Ref. October, 1891, p. 234.

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action naturally limits the membership to those who hold the same political creed, as well as the same social theories.

The annual report for 1892 showed that most of the activity of the Guild had been spent on the election campaigns. The old struggle against secularism, which had ended with the death of Chas. Bradlaugh, seemed to deprive the Guild of its raison d'etre as an organization with a special work of its own to do. As the annual report for this year pointed out "the principles for which the Guild has contended for fifteen years seemed to be making quiet but steady progress on every hand, and subjects which the Guild had at first stood almost alone in discussing, were now a regular part of every Church congress and Diocesan conference."

The chief manifesto of the year was on Clerical Appointment and Tenure, followed by a petition to House of Lords, urging the importance of allowing clerical appointments to be influenced, if not directly controlled, by popular election.

In 1893 a distinct effort was made to increase the membership. The fee had been reduced from 4s. to 1s. and the council issued suggestions as to the best means of increasing the membership. The result was that the membership list showed a somewhat larger increase than usual, 48, but the total was still only 333.

True to its policy of taking definite action on prominent questions, the Bristol branch supported the miners in their strike during 1894, and made distinct corporate efforts to raise funds for them. Following the same policy, two amendments to Object III. of the Guild were offered at the annual meeting. The first amendment read:

"To Promote the Study and Treatment of Social and Political Questions in the Light of the Incarnation." (70) It was felt that after seventeen years of study the Guild should be in a position to recommend action as well as to continue study. The other amendment would have made the Object read so as to favour such reforms as should tend to bring about the organization of the nation on a Socialist (or collectivist) basis. It is surprising that the Guild should have preferred the first of these amendments to the more definite declaration in favour of Socialism. No doubt the decision was largely influenced by the Warden, but it is more or less indicative of the present attitude of this group of Christian Socialists toward economic Socialism that so many of them seemed to agree with the Warden who said only a year or two later: "If Socialism aims by gradual drastic legislation at getting the means of production into the hands of the people, with a view to the abolition of monopoly and the offering to all an opportunity to live a full, free life, then we are as we always have been — Socialists and Socialists who claim that Socialism is Christian. But it is well, I think, that we have never put the name into our rules; for the name just at present seems to be misleading and confusing both to friend and foe alike." (71)

Up to 1895 most of the dissatisfied members had withdrawn and identified themselves with the larger Christian social union. In this year there was renewed dissatisfaction expressed with the policy of the Warden and another large defection followed. Nevertheless, the annual

(70)—Church Reformer, October, 1893, p. 234.
(71)—Church Reformer, October, 1895, p. 219.

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report for 1895 showed the largest total membership the Guild has ever reached: 364, of whom 99 were in orders. The resignations, however, showed a serious loss in real vitality to the Guild.

During the next three years the activities of the Guild continued along the same lines with lectures on social and economic questions, which always emphasized the land question as fundamental. The twenty-second annual report, however (1899), complains that "the work of the Guild has suffered somewhat during the past year from general causes which seem to have adversely affected all branches of the social movement, the general briskness of trade being certainly one of them. But it has also especially suffered from the fact that Churchmen, to whom it especially appeals, have had their interest largely diverted from social questions by the necessity of defending the Church against attack; and from the serious illness of the Warden during several months of the past year. This, and in a lesser degree the illness of the Secretary in the spring, has greatly diminished the lecturing activities of the last tweve months." (72)

This year saw a continuance of the struggle against so-called Catholic practices where a few laymen attempted to make a crisis by publicly protesting against certain usages in the service which were—they claimed—contrary to the rules of the Church. In the autumn the council called special attention to two resolutions which had been passed at the last two annual meetings. The first affirmed the present attack on the Catholicity of the English Church to be subversive of every true principle of Liberalism. The second deplored the attempt "arbitrarily to deprive the laity of their just rights to full Catholic worship, without giving them a voice in the matter," (73) and asserted that the manufacturing of a Church crisis tended to divert the attention of faithful churchmen from the pressing social reforms.

The South African war began soon after the annual meeting in 1899, and the next year showed a decline in the number of lectures and in the membership. The year after (1900-1901) the work suffered from the same cause, but the elections this year gave the Guild an opportunity to enter again the field of politics. Two manifestoes were issued, one for the general election and one for the County Council election of 1901. Both manifestoes urged upon the voters the importance of exercising their right to go to the polls; but the one issued for the general election and addressed "To Those who Labour," is quoted in full for it brings out most clearly the attitude of the Guild toward the questions of the day:

"There are many questions besides the future of South Africa which by your votes you will help to settle. But there is one which, as electors, you should refuse once and for all to touch. You should emphatically say that it is not your business to settle what should be your neighbour's religion, or how he shall conduct his worship. Whether you like his religion or dislike it, or are indifferent about it, you, in accordance with the best traditions of English life, must make up your mind to tolerate it. To call upon Parliament to regulate it in accordance with your own wishes would be not only to waste the time of Parliament, but would violate every Liberal principle. Of course it is within the power

(72)—Occasional Paper of the Guild of St. Matthew, No. 15, p. 5.
(73)—Ibid, p. 7.

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of Parliament to legislate as to how you shall worship, but we urge that all such legislation is inexpedient. First, because it will occupy the time which ought to be spent on matters which Parliament can advantageously deal with; second, because such legislation used against one set of men today can be used against another tomorrow.

"There are questions of Social Reform demanding urgent attention: The taxation of land values, better housing, old age pensions, drink monopoly, we single out among many as the most important. There are men who ignore these matters which Parliament can rightly deal with, but who would occupy the time of Parliament with questions of Religion and of Worship, which can never be satisfactorily settled by law, and force, the agent of law. Religion is not one of those things which can conveniently be socialized." (74)

The twenty-fourth annual report issued in September, 1901, dwelt again on the general apathy and hopelessness among social reforms owing to the distractions of the continued hostilities in South Africa. The membership for the year dropped to 283, of whom 90 were in orders.

It is hardly possible to close the story of this phase of Christian Socialism without giving a brief account of the work of the English Land Restoration League. The League is in no way affiliated with the Guild of St. Matthew nor do its members, as members of this society, express any belief in Christian Socialism. But its work is the practical expression of what the Guild of St. Matthew has over and over again affirmed as its fundamental social theory, and many of the founders and active members of the League were and still are members of the Guild of St. Matthew.

The study of Henry George's Progress and Poverty, first led, in 1883, to the formation of the society now known as the English Land Restoration League. Its purpose was to advance in every way Henry George's theory of the Single Tax, or as Mr. Headlam expressed it, not to kick the landlords out nor to buy them out, but to tax them out. The work of the League was largely confined to London and to the formation of a Scottish branch; until 1891 when the first attack was made on the Rural districts by means of the "Red Vans." "The rural lectures," says the 1895 report, "are carried on in large vehicles painted red and analogous to those of the traveling circuses. Each spring the 'Red Vans' follow the demonstration of the working-class organizations, which takes place on the first Sunday in May, to Hyde Park. Afterwards they set out into the country to make their tour which lasts through the whole of the fine season. As soon as one of these Vans arrives in a village the propagandists who are with it announce a meeting round the Van for 8 o'clock in the evening; during the day they go among the houses and, guided by printed papers of questions, collect all the information possible about the condition of the peasants. Sometimes they photograph the most wretched of the dwellings. Everywhere they leave the manifestoes of the League, propagandist leaflets, cartoons in which the idea of the single tax is interpreted in a form comprehensible to the simple and unlettered,—they distribute them even to the children who are coming out of school. Frequently the landlord or his agent tries to prevent the Van from taking up its stand. Altercations

(74)—Guild of St. Matthew. Occasional Paper, No. 21, February, 1901, p. 4.

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and disputes follow which now and then come to a conclusion before the magistrates. Sometimes the opposition is less brutal; it is represented by some members of the Liberty and Property Defence League, which is subsidized by a syndicate of big landlords, and which claims Herbert Spencer for its intellectual patron." (75)

This account of the Red Vans is taken from an account quoted in the 1895 report, and shows the method by which the League worked to stir up the agricultural labourer to take a hand in working out his own salvation. The lecturers pointed out the great blessings which the single tax would confer on the agricultural community, but the landlord was attacked with pictorial satire of which the cover to the 1895 report is a fair example. Here the landlord is presented struggling to clasp a very large globe in his arms with the legend attached, "The earth is the (land) lord's and the fullness thereof." For a few years four or five hundred meetings were held each year all over England, but the 1901 report of the League says the character of the work of the League has changed in the ten years since the Vans were established, and that the special funds provided for this work are practically exhausted. It seems probable therefore that most of the work of the League will for the present at least be largely confined to the towns where the discussion of the housing problem offers an especial opportunity for the exposition of the primary object of the League—"the Restitution of the Land to the People."

(75)—E. L. R. L. Report of the Red Vans for 1895, p. 1.

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CHAPTER V.

The Christian Social Union.

Democracy, says De Tocqueville, finds in religion the only check to its craving for material comforts. The passion for equality, common to all democratic communities, tends to satisfy itself first of all with an equality of outward conditions, and so that worship of material success comes, which is so fatal to higher spiritual development.

It is a commonplace of history that the democratization of England, during the past century has gone on with ever increasing speed. Nor is the cause far to seek. The growth of industry has developed a new class of moneyed aristocracy which has made itself felt by a vigorous dictation of important legislation for its own interest, and at the same time it has insisted on the social recognition of its material success. The colonies have helped the spread of English commodities. Finally the labouring classes have shared the general prosperity, and have flocked to the towns where, even within the past thirty years, Mr. Hobson tells us, the rise in wages has been nearly forty per cent.

Under such circumstances it is no wonder that England has been severely threatened with the Mammon worship, against which Carlyle warned her half a century ago. If the measure of success is to be represented by "cash-nexus" a deep, true, spiritual development is impossible, and religion becomes a series of prohibitions whose highest ideal is summed up in the phrase "thou shalt not." Added to this is the fact which the Bishop of Worcester points out that, "the disastrous identification of Church and State," (76) has tended to give people the comfortable feeling that the civil and criminal law represents the full extent of their Christian duties. But Christ's religion is not negative. It is a positive, active force which insists that men shall be led to right thinking through right acting; and makes a man learn to love his neighbour as himself through treating him as himself. We forget that Christ demands not conduct merely but character, and that "Character is formed rather by what we do than by what we refrain from doing." (77) It was because of the conviction on the part of a growing body of men in the English Church that the time had come to claim for Christianity all the activities of life, to set before people this positive form of religion that the Christian Social Union was formed.

No doubt the growing movement in England at the dawn of the twentieth century is Socialism. Not the economic Socialism of the continent but an ethical Socialism which conforms much more nearly to the theories of Maurice than to those of Carl Marx. Within the Church of England, and especially among a certain group of High Churchmen this type of Socialism has taken an especial hold. But to avoid false impressions one must know what Socialism means to those in the Church of England who talk most about it.

There is first of all a strong but small group who accept the State

(76)—The Social Doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount, by Rt. Rev. Chas. Gore, pp. 6, 16.
(77)—The Christian Law, B. F. Westcott, p. 14.

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Socialism of the Fabian Society, and attempt to reconcile it with their Christianity. But even the Fabians are less strictly scientific and are much more opportunist than the Social Democracy in Germany. By far the larger part of the members of the Christian Social Union, however, are by no means ready to go so far. For them the definition given by the Bishop of Manchester in his report to the Lambeth Conference of 1888 is more satisfactory. He says, "The conference defines Socialism as any scheme which aims at uniting labour and the instruments of labour (land and capital) whether by means of the state, or of the help of the rich, or of the voluntary co-operation of the poor." This suggests at once Maurice's ideal of self-governing co-operative workshops. The debt to Maurice, however, becomes still more apparent in the definition of Socialism given by the Bishop of Durham in his address to the Church Congress at Hull, in 1890. Used apart from its historical associations, to describe a theory of life, he says that "Socialism is the opposite of Individualism, and it is by contrast with Individualism that the true character of Socialism can best be discerned. Individualism and Socialism correspond with opposite views of humanity. Individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms; Socialism regards it as an organic whole, a vital unity formed by the combination of contributory members mutually interdependent. It follows that Socialism differs from Individualism both in method and aim. The method of Socialism is co-operation, the method of Individualism is competition." (78) This definition, the closing part of which is taken directly from Maurice (79), is broad enough to take in almost all who are willing to recognize their social responsibility. It has been the policy of the Christian Social Union to avoid hard and fast lines, and to treat all subjects with the greatest breadth; and this is perhaps one reason why it is so successful in uniting members of the different parties in the Church in its membership and making them work harmoniously together.

The Christian Social Union met too the demand of a strong body of young clergymen, who, as a result of working among the poor, in individual parishes, had waked up to the fact that the Church had a social responsibility, and it came at a time when a feeling of dissatisfaction was making itself felt among some of the High Churchmen at the results of their activity which had tended to expand its force in a multiplicity of church services (80), and offered a more satisfactory work than they had been engaged in.

Before coming to the organization of the Union, just a word as to some of the current criticisms which are made upon it. They would hardly seem worthy of notice except that they occupy so much space and seem to carry weight with such an unexpectedly large number that they can hardly be passed over in silence. The usual form which criticism takes is that the clergy are bound by their ordination vows to be religious experts and they had much better leave social and economic questions to the social expert. It is hardly worth while discussing whether religion does not include an intelligent interest in this world

(78)—Socialism, by Rt. Rev. B. F. Westcott, pp. 3, 4. A paper read at the Church Congress in Hull, 1890, published by the Guild of St. Matthew.
(79)—Christian Socialism by Maurice, p. 4.
(80)—See Bishop Gore, Social Doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount, p. 30.

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as well as in the next, for the judgment of the great majority of people now-a-days clearly forces these questions within the realms of Church work. Entirely aside, however, from the question of the popular judgment these critics forget for the moment that one of the clergy's ordination vows is obedience to their superiors in the Church. Let us see what the Bishops say about interest in the Social problem.

In the special report on Socialism presented to the Lambeth Conference by the Bishop of Manchester (81), he says that the Church may do much by requiring some knowledge of economic science from her candidates for orders. . . . . "The clergy may enter into friendly relations with Socialists, attending when possible their club meetings, and trying to understand their aims and methods."

The late Bishop of Canterbury in much the same vein in his Encyclical letter says: "No more important problem can well occupy the attention—whether of clergy or laity—than such as are connected with what is popularly called Socialism." (82) In a book which he published in 1886 he speaks still more plainly as to the duty of the clergy to study and to take part in the social movement. Speaking of the suffering populations, he says: "To study, to think out, to keep before the minds of his own people the principles and the agencies by which lasting amelioration, with interim help, may be effected is becoming a first duty of the clergyman." He goes on to say that "No young man can be considered as fully equipped for ordination until he has some knowledge of these subjects." (83) So far from feeling that these things lie beyond the scope of the clergyman's work the Primate considered that one great work of the clergy is in "preparing public opinion to suggest and support the best and wisest social measures." (84)

I.

It was acting in the spirit of this council that a small group of men in the summer of 1889 formed the Christian Social Union. During Lent, 1889, the Rev. Wilford Richmond gave four lectures at Sion College, London, on "Economic Morals." They were intensely direct, and at the end of the course it was decided to form a society to influence public opinion on matters connected with practical every day life. A list was started which was unfortunately lost, but in the summer Rev. Canon Scott-Holland called a few of the most interested together, and the three rules of the society were formulated. These read as follows:

"This Union consists of members of the Church of England, who have the following objects at heart:

"1, To claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.

"2, To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time

"3, To present Christ in practical life as the Living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

(81)—Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with Resolutions and Reports of the Pan-Anglican Conference at Lamberth, 1888, p. 56. Published by S. P. C. K., London, 1888.
(82)—Ibid, p. 10.
(83)—Christ and His Times, by Archbishop Benson, pp. 72, 73.
(84)—Ibid, p. 79.

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"Members are expected to pray for the well-being of the Union at Holy Communion, more particularly on or about the following days:

"The Feast of Epiphany.

"The Feast of Ascension.

"The Feast of S. Michael, and All Angels."

A comparison of these objects with those of the Guild of St. Matthew shows at once the difference between the two societies. The central point with the G. S. M. is the Church, and the main purpose of the Guild as seen through its three objects, is to bring outsiders within her influence and to make those already in more obedient to her authority. The spirit of opposition to the Church, which these rules were meant to overcome had, however, largely disappeared in 1889 and we find the central object of the C. S. U. is the application of the Christian teaching to life, and first of all a careful study of the problems to be met.

The membership is limited to members of the Church of England, or any body in full communion with her. It is to some a matter of regret that dissenters are entirely excluded from a society founded on the principle of the "Christian Law"—on the fundamental notion that the road to right thinking lies through right acting. But the Christian Social Union claims no exclusive right to the ideas which it promulgates. It would gladly see similar societies founded in other bodies outside of the Church of England. The reasons for limiting the membership in this way are clearly explained in a paper addressed by the Oxford Branch to the Christian Social Union in the United States of America. Three reasons were advanced: 1, That Churchmen would make a body quite large enough to handle if corporate opinion were ever to be formed; 2, That it was highly undesirable that fundamental theological differences should continually be cropping up in private discussions of ways and means; 3, "But far more impressive . . . . was the feeling of loyalty to and confidence in the Divine idea of the Church." . . . . A Society "expressing its faith in the Creed of undivided Christendom, and deriving its vitality from the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, assured to us through the due administration of the Divine Sacraments."

The constitution of the C. S. U. provides for a central council which shall be the governing body. This council consists of delegates elected annually by the branches in the ratio of one for every twenty-five members. No branch may send more than four delegates but plurality voting is allowed, so that each set of delegates has one vote for every twenty-five members in the branch. The Executive is the real governing body. This is elected annually by the Council, and consists of four officers (Chairman, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary) to retire at the annual meeting; and of fifteen other members, five of whom are to retire at the annual meeting in rotation. All members of the Committee are eligible for re-election. The powers of the Executive as defined by the constitution are: "1, To call general meetings of the Union; 2, To issue literature in the name of the Union; 3, To publish statements expressing the general opinion of the Union, or to organize public meetings, provided that two-thirds of the whole Executive approve, and 4, To perform any other duties delegated to it by the Council."

The Branches represent the working entities of the society and are

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independent of the central Executive in all matters concerning their private action. Twenty-five members may form an independent Branch, and may have their own rules in regard to subscriptions and methods. They must, however, send an annual report to the central Executive, and are liable to an assessment to meet the general expenses. In matters of public action it has been found necessary to make strict regulations. The leaders of the society constantly emphasize the fact that the main purpose of the Union is for study, and that as the C. S. U. "as a whole, has only begun to form a corporate opinion," it would be folly to attempt any definite expression of the sentiment of the Society. Nevertheless, it was necessary in 1896 to issue a special circular to warn a few overzealous members that they were not entitled to use the name of the society in political campaigns, or to express its "corporate opinion" to reporters of the daily press.

The growth of the society has been remarkable. The Oxford Branch was the first formed (Nov. 1889), and its list of members published in the winter of 1890 showed a total membership of 77. The London Branch was formed in the following year, and its list of members published in September, 1891, shows a total membership of 124. In this year affiliated Branches begin to appear in the lists, and by 1893 the total membership of all the Branches was 1204. The first of January, 1896, the membership was estimated at nearly 3000. The last annual report showed 35 Branches with a total membership well over 4000, and affiliated societies in New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America.

The two main Branches are the Oxford University Branch and the London Branch. The Oxford University Branch, sometimes called the "Dilettante Branch," finds its active membership largely among the undergraduates, and, compared with the London Branch, its activity is naturally decidedly limited. It is supposed to be much less socialistic than the London Branch; so much so that the story is told of several members who declined to join the London Branch, but allied themselves with the Oxford end of the Union. Several of the independent Branches have also affiliated themselves with the Oxford Branch because by this means they are entitled to receive the pamphlets and leaflets which this Branch issues from year to year in much larger quantities than any of the other Branches. In fact the Oxford Branch may be roughly described as the thinking part, as opposed to the London Branch, which would be more representative of the acting part of the Union. The main work of this Oxford University branch lies in studying special social subjects. Three meetings are held during the term at each of which a paper is read, followed by discussion. At the end of the term a four page leaflet is published giving a summary of the argument with books of reference under the several heads as an encouragement to further study. These private meetings are as a rule well attended, sometimes seventy or eighty of the undergraduate members being present. They began with an exhaustive study of Schaffle's Quintessence of Socialism and since then have discussed such subjects as Factories and Workshops, Poor Law Administration, Methods of Promoting Temperance, The Agricultural Labourer, Methods of Dealing with the Unemployed, Shorter Hours for Work, Trades Unions, The Church and

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Democracy, etc. They have issued several pamphlets, over thirty leaflets, and are now issuing the twelfth volume of the Economic Review, a quarterly of considerable merit, which represents the best thought of the Christian Socialists.

The London Branch is in the midst of the active problems of social life, and is supposed to be much more socialistic than its neighbour at Oxford. Several of the prominent members are frankly socialistic, and one of the leaders has been a member of the Executive of the Fabian Society. They began public meetings, and the enrollment of names in 1890, but the corporate existence really began in the autumn of 1891. The first annual report emphasized the importance of the study of social and economic questions as the main work of the Union. But the membership soon became so large that there was danger that the personal element might be entirely neglected. Partly to help, therefore, to make this study a reality for so large a body, London was divided into a number of districts, each of which had its local "Group." Each Group has its own organization for purposes of study, but the London Branch as a whole holds at stated periods central meetings at which lectures are given, followed by discussion. Some of the subjects discussed during past years are: The Poor Law, Old and New, by Mr. Graham Wallas. London School Board Election, by Canon Scott-Holland. Industrial Legislation, by Mrs. H. J. Tennant (late H. M. Superintending Lady Inspector of Factories). The Native Labour Question in South Africa, by Mr. J. A. Hobson. The Public House Trust, by Earl Grey.

These central meetings are too the official meetings of the Branch, and here new members are elected and private business is transacted.

In addition to the groups and branches a new rule was passed in 1895 allowing Parochial Guilds and other local societies to be affiliated to the London Branch on payment of a fee of 2/6 per annum. Such affiliated societies forward a full list of members to the secretary, and pay a fee of 2d. for each member. The secretary or other official must be a full member of the C. S. U. The object of this regulation was to extend the influence of the Union among parishes whose members could not afford the usual subscription of 2/6.

II.

The constant assertion of the Christian Social Union that they are not yet ready to express a corporate opinion, makes it difficult to give a definite statement of their theories; they have, however, authorized six publications as "officially recognized by the Council on behalf of all the Branches as expressing the general principles of the Christian Social Union." (85)

The following statement of their theories is based on these six publications. Socialism as already defined by the Bishop of Durham is the opposite of individualism, and is merely a general assertion that "the

(85)—These are, 1, "The Ground of Our Appeal" (published also under the title of "The Christian Social Union") by Canon H. Scott Holland; 2, "The Social Doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount," by Rt. Rev. Chas. Gore; 3, "The Christian Social Union," by Rt. Rev. B. F. Westcott; 4, "Socialism," a paper read at the Church Congress in Hull, 1890, by Rt. Rev. B. F. Westcott; 5, "The Christian Law," by Rt. Rev. B. F. Westcott; 6, The main body of the preface to "Lombard St. in Lent," from p. 8. "The popular misconception," etc., to p. 13. "The Crown of the Past."

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goal of human endeavour is the common well being of all alike, sought through conditions which provide for the fullest culture of each man, as opposed to the special development of a race or a class." (86) This, however, is nothing more than the assertion of the widest Christian principle, and even those who quarrel with the right to call this Socialism, would probably admit the value of the ethical principle. It is, however, in the method of applying this principle to human society that the Christian Social Union finds its distinctive work, — a work which it sums up in its fundamental principle "to claim for Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule social practice." But what is Christian Law?

Christ left no code of commandments, and the best summary of his ethical teaching — the Sermon on the Mount — is largely a statement of general principles. He set up an ideal, and left the Church, which he promised to guide into all Truth, to settle for each particular age, its own casuistry. "The Christian Law, then, is the embodiment of the Truth for action in forms answering to the conditions of society from age to age." (87) This definition makes the error of the Roman Catholic casuistry impossible. For while the embodiment takes place slowly, we can never "rest indolently in the conclusions of the past." Every new problem demands a new answer.

Herein lies its essential differentiation from economic law. "Economic Laws are generalizations from the conduct of average men at particular times and places under a particular aspect." (88) They are, in fact, a statement of what is. But Christian Law faces the problem with an ethical standard. It recognizes what is, merely to measure it by what ought to be, by what to the follower of Christ must be his law.

1. The attempt to apply the Christian Law to the common facts of every day life, first calls the attention of the Christian Socialist to the truth in that insistence with which the Socialist emphasizes the influence of surroundings in the development of character. But to the Christian Socialist this is not a fundamental cause. It is merely one factor in the influences which must be brought to bear on the individual character. The well being of a nation is measured, not by the material wealth, but by the character of its citizens. "Material advantages, apart from the corresponding intellectual and moral qualifications are no blessing. They cannot be kept or won, unless men are themselves to match." (89)

But while "we do not believe that the happiest physical environment can regenerate men, we do believe that physical misery tends to imbrute them, and that, even if they escape the degradation, it is contrary to the will of God. The neglect of Lazarus by his rich neighbour was not less condemned because Lazarus was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom." (90)

Conversely it is true that certain physical conditions are favourable to a generous character. We do not trust to legislation, but we recognize that it has its place in Social Reform. The weakness of the legislative method is that people make the mistake of beginning with it. Laws, however, are the embodiment of public opinion, not the guide.

(86)—Socialism, p. 5.
(87)—Christian Law, p. 8.
(88)—Christian Social Union, by B. F. Westcott, p. 7.
(89)—Christian Social Union, p. 10.
(90)—Christian Law, p. 12.

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and legislation should be the last, not first step in the redressing of social evils. It is no doubt true that "Just Laws are an elementary lesson in Righteousness;" (91) nevertheless the experience of states which have tried to enforce laws against the sentiment of the community should teach us that to make the lesson effective for the few, the many must already have learned it.

There is, as must be repeated again and again, but one way to prepare the hearts of the people, and that is through the religion of Jesus Christ. The old fashioned protestantism laid the emphasis on the death of Christ as a sacrifice for our sins. Maurice first pointed out effectively that the Incarnation was the central point of Christian History. The purpose of the Incarnation is to show humanity the possibilities of man. It is a "Revelation of Human duties" and at the same time reveals the worth of the individual. Christ has become man. Henceforth humanity can find its goal only in complete union with the Divine. And this is the ideal not for a chosen few, but for the race, for through our common band of humanity, we all share in the common brotherhood.

It is, however, in the means which Christ takes to accomplish this fulfilment of the ideal of humanity that His uniqueness consists. All systems of philosophy and learning are cast aside. He lives absolutely the life of service. When He says to His disciples, "Let him that would be greatest among you serve," He stood before them as an object lesson. To many of His friends it must have seemed that He was throwing away magnificent opportunities. Nay, even to Himself the temptation to rule the Kingdoms of the world came with almost irresistible force, but He dismissed it with a "Get thee behind me, Satan," and returned to His life of service. He had come to teach men the Christian paradox that he that seeketh his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for the sake of Christ and his fellow men shall find it, and He gave Himself—even to death on the cross. He showed us therein that what we must give is ourselves. We cannot, like the hero in Sudermann's popular German novel, free ourselves from the cares of this world by the easy process of burning our houses and barns. The follower of Christ cannot avoid the sense of responsibility by shirking his duties. He must meet his responsibilities like a man and fulfil them. Property, friends, even life itself—all are a burden until he comes to regard them as a sacred trust to be administered in God's name for the service of humanity. "The redemption of society is through the sacrifice of self. The Incarnation reveals the ideal of creation;" but "the passion reveals the way in which the ideal must be attained." (92)

2. Herein lies the reconciliation of the struggle between Individualism and Socialism. The individual has true worth in himself, but he can hope to realize his true self only in the service of Society. Even as the muscles of the body grow by waste and repair of tissue, so the individual grows by spending himself for others, and finds in the very process of giving, that he has by the strange paradox of Divine law, become stronger by giving of his strength. It is then, in the last resort, the individual which is of supreme importance. But for his development proper social conditions are necessary. Each reaches his full

(91)—Christian Law, p. 13.
(92)—Christian Social Union, p. 12.

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stature only when he casts all thought of self aside and works for all. This is the society of which Maurice dreamed. The state where brotherliness reigns and co-operation has succeeded competition.

3. The realization of this ideal involves the recognition of a double set of obligations: A, the personal; B, the public duties. But to feel what these obligations rest on man must appreciate the fundamental notion of the Fatherhood of God. The first social principle is that of sonship, for, as Maurice so finely said, "There can be no fraternity without a common Father."

A. The three great obligations which the Christian must face are:

(a), Brotherhood, or as Maurice called it, co-operation. This is the principle of social interdependence which is the basis of the social scheme of the early Christian Socialists. And the Christian Socialist of today is quite ready to accept the principle to the full. The Bishop of Worcester says in one of the official pamphlets of the Union. "The church must carry this principle into all its transactions. It must be in the fullest sense of the word spiritually and physically a profit-sharing company." (93)

(b) Justice, which is a necessary result of Brotherliness. Justice means not equality of position, but equality of opportunity for all. Translated into modern economic conditions, it means a fair living wage and improved social conditions for the working classes. From the Christian point of view, it is not at present even approximately realized in what we call Christian society.

(c) Trust in God. In the state where Brotherliness and Justice reign, man can have perfect confidence in God. "God will provide for him as for the birds of the air and the flowers of the field. Now the birds and the plants accumulate today the resources which are to serve them hereafter. The birds could not hatch their eggs if they had not in due time previously built their nests. The flowers could not bring forth their bloom if they had not been accumulating their resources long before. But all this takes place without anxiety. Granted the fulfilling of function day by day God will provide." (94)

B. But to express these principles in our daily lives involves a clear understanding of our public duties. The Christian Social Union disclaims any attempt as yet to formulate a corporate opinion, but on certain elementary principles it has inevitably spoken already in no uncertain voice. For just as the scholar who never uses his learning loses, by and by, his power of acquisition, so he who never applies his private theories of individual development for the advancement of his brother man loses the power to develop stronger and more helpful ideals. Never was there a time when so many problems clamoured for solution; never was the practical scholar in more demand. And the answer must come from men who live as well as study, for we have at least learned that "New questions cannot be settled by tradition."

(a) Education (95) is the first problem that faces us on the threshold of life. The object of education is to train us for life, not for some special occupation. It must therefore quicken and arouse the mind and

(93)—Gore, Social Doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount, p. 25.
(94)—Bishop Gore, Social Doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount, p. 23.
(95)—See Address by the late Bishop of Durham, The True Aims and Methods of Education, Bristol, 1896.

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strive to make knowledge "a growth and not a vestment." This does not imply a disregard of the splendid inheritance of the past, but it does put a great responsibility on the teacher, for education of this type is a spiritual relationship. "The personal element in it is supreme," and its noblest fruit is character. Now character in its early formative period finds its ideals in other lives, either by personal contact, or in literature. "The influence upon our working classes—to go no further—of the highest literature is hardly appreciable." The ideals of the average man today tend to reduce all life to a competitive commercial basis. "In some classes competition threatens to invade the nursery, and in others education is habitually regarded simply as a preparation for the industrial conflict. The members of the Christian Social Union have a work here, for "We believe that we live, so far as we truly live, by admiration, hope and love." If the scope of education is narrowed to a mere industrial training, a disastrous deterioration of public and private spirit must follow. The Union has then here a definite educational problem to solve for once "agreed on the aim of the work, the proper method for attaining it will soon and surely be determined."

(b) It is almost unnecessary to say that in the opinion of a religious movement like the new Christian Socialism, the marriage law, as the basis of the family relations, if for no higher reasons, must remain sacred. Those who suspect the Christian Socialists of leaning towards that communal life which some Socialists advocate, should read Canon Scott-Holland's sermon on "Marriage Laws"; (96) where he maintains that a true Socialism means the strengthening of the marriage bond.

(c) Would Christianity abolish private property? This question is one of the first which is asked of any system which calls itself Socialistic. In connection with the Christian Social Union, it is rendered especially difficult to deal with, because Mr. Headlam has confused many people by his assertion that Land Nationalization is a necessary corollary of Christian Socialism. It is useless to discuss what Maurice would have said if he could have read Henry George, and have seen the problem under its present day conditions. The fact remains that Maurice never questioned the right of private property so long as the owner realized his social responsibility, and the majority of the members of the Christian Social Union would undoubtedly agree with this today. The Union has given no official utterance on the subject of property, but a sermon and notes from a lecture on the subject have been printed. (97) From these it seems fair to infer that the Union would sanction the sacredness of property while placing it under stern limitations. "But there is a difference between the rights of property and the absolute rights of property. Christianity believes in the rights of property, but it disbelieves altogether in any absolute right." (98) The good of the individual and his right to use his property must always be limited by the good of society. The answer to any particular question must be met when the question arises, but in general it is fair to infer that any special

(96)—See Lombard St. in Lent. Sermon. "Marriage Laws," by Canon H. Scott-Holland.
(97)—See Lombard St. in Lent. Sermon by Rev. R. L. Ottley. "The Ethics of Property"; also notes on a lecture on Christianity and Property by Bishop of Worcester in the Economic Review, July, 1896, p. 391.
(98)—Economic Review, July, 1896, p. 396.

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question would be dealt with on a utilitarian basis, with a view to the greatest good of the greatest number.

(d) Industrial conditions have been completely revolutionized during the present century. On the side of production the rise of the great industries has produced a new set of problems, especially in the relation of the employer and the employed. The Trades Unions have done much to meet this problem, but there is still a spirit of antagonism which a true spirit of Christian brotherliness would do much to overcome. On the side of consumption there is an almost undeveloped field. The responsibility of the individual as a purchaser is just beginning to be realized. Who stops to think what the passion for "bargains" costs in long hours and reduced pay; or who cares what the caprices of fashion mean to the labourer in loss of work and uncertainty of pay? "The policy of preferential dealing" is the first step of the Christian Social Union to meet one phase of this problem.

(e) Finally the present century has seen political power entrusted for the first time to the hands of the people. Here, if nowhere else, we shall soon feel the corporate unity of the community. What political ideals are to rule? The question comes to each individually. The responsibility for the degradation of political ideals lies at the door of every Christian who fails to take an intelligent, active part in the political life of the community. But it is only by careful study of the problems that we can be ready to play our part in guiding the public conscience aright.

III.

The practical work of the Union is done under the direction of each local Branch. The work, however, bears a general similarity of character, so that with one or two exceptions the London Branch may be taken as typical of the work of all.

1. True to their principle of education the London Branch early established lending libraries. The special feature, however, is the formation of sets of twelve of some of the standard books recommended by the Union. These sets are sent to groups or small local branches for the encouragement of the study of some particular question by several people at the same time.

2. The London Branch has also tried to rouse its members to consistent political action, and has in times of particular crisis issued manifestoes to them which dealt with the issues in no uncertain tone.

3. The courses of public sermons on the social questions have done most to make known in London the work and teaching of the C. S. U. The first series was held during Lent in 1894 in St. Edmunds Church, Lombard St., in the very heart of the business district. The service with sermon was held at twelve o'clock daily, and the church was crowded with business men. The sermons were afterward published in book form under the title of "Lombard Street in Lent," and the book has run through several editions. In 1895 services were held in two churches at the same time, St. Edmunds and St. Mary-le-Strand. A selection of these sermons was published under the title, "A Lent in London." In 1896, with a view to a still broader influence, services were held in different parts of London, for a week in each church. An experiment was also

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made in 1896 of having special sermons on Social subjects preached by leaders in the Social Movement during the Trades Union Congress. The result was said to be most satisfactory and at Edinburgh the Trades Union Congress printed the C. S. U. sermons on their official programme. The annual report for 1898 states that "the need for special courses of the C. S. U. sermons is much less than it used to be, now that so many of the clergy are supplying genuine Christian teaching on social matters in their ordinary parochial ministrations;" as this has failed, however, to rouse the majority of them to any special effort to rectify their social conduct, "our chief responsibility at the present moment should be the careful consideration of particular problems with a view to practical action."

4. The Cheltenham Branch has undertaken a very interesting social experiment of the most practical character, under the name of "The Cheltenham Society for the Improvement of the Houses of the Poor." It has bought some cottages, introduced the needed improvements, and rented them at a fair price to working people. The first year they issued £1 debenture bonds, bought ten cottages, and were negotiating for three more. At the completion of their third year (1900) they reported that they had again been able to pay three per cent. to debenture bondholders, and were asking for further applications for bonds, that they might extend their work.

5. The London Branch has carried on, by means of a research committee, an inquiry into London trades which lack adequate legislative protection. This committee has already investigated the conditions of labour, hours of work, and wages of the hand laundries, manufacture of artificial flowers, fish curing and fruit preserving, lead poisoning in potteries, and the home manufacture of brushes. Its immediate purpose is to provide material for influencing legislation. During 1900 it prepared and circulated a criticism of the proposed factories and workshops bill, and advocated the appointment of more women sanitary inspectors. "Similar work has been done by committees of the Birmingham and Oxford (city) branches, especially in regard to the housing problem, and reports of unsanitary dwellings have been sent to the local authorities." (99)

6. To give a centre of all these forms of social work, the London Branch opened a Social Settlement in 1898 in Hoxton (North London) called Maurice Hostel. During the first year it attracted considerable attention by the investigation it carried on into the housing problem. The results were published under the title of "No Room to Live," by George Haw. The general line of work followed is that of the other settlements in other parts of London. The work has grown rapidly, however, and larger quarters are soon to be built. There are two distinct houses, one for men and the other for women, but both of them are already calling for increased helpers to carry on the work.

7. Two undertakings of more general interest have been conducted under the leadership of Rev. John Carter, the Honorary Secretary of the Union. The first of these was carried on from Oxford, and was an inquiry into the present standards of honesty in the general conduct of

(99)—Christian Social Union, Annual Report, 1900.

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business. Starting with the generally accepted fact of "tipping," the enquiry went up through the whole scale of "illicit commissions," and finally published its findings in a pamphlet under the title of "Commercial Morality." (100) Mr. Carter begins with the principle expressed in the first object of the "Co-operative Union" — the society founded by the early Christian Socialists.

"This Union is formed to promote the practice of truthfulness, justice and economy in production and exchange.

"By the abolition of all false dealing either—(a), direct, by representing any articles produced or sold to be other than what is known to the producer or vendor to be; or (b), indirect, by concealing from the purchaser any fact known to the vendor, material to be known by the purchaser, to enable him to judge of the value of the article purchased."

From this ground Mr. Carter issued a circular containing seven questions, to a large list of business men who were presumably representative in different lines of business, and extending from the large manufacturer to the small shop-keeper and to workmen.

The questions were: 1, Do you find it difficult to apply the principles of Christian truth and justice to the conduct of business?

The general consensus of opinion seems to be that Christian principle and business are almost impossible to reconcile. A few large and well known firms answer that they find it possible, though demanding distinct sacrifices. The smaller firms, however, and especially the employees of all sorts answer, "Not only difficult, but impossible. For a man is not master of himself. If one would live and avoid the bankruptcy court, one must do business on the same lines as others do, without troubling whether the methods are in harmony with the principles of Christian truth and justice or not." (101) And one employer says bluntly, "Business is based on the gladiatorial theory of existence. If Christian truth and justice is not consistent with this, business is in a bad case. So is nature."

The next question was: 2, To what extent is honorable trade hampered by unjust competition?

Here there is a unanimity of expression in all the replies, that unjust competition is one of the greatest evils. One man replies, "To a very large extent, if it were possible to do away with competition, the excuse and justification for a large proportion of commercial immorality would be gone. There would then be a chance for a man to trade honestly with a reasonable prospect of success. I believe there are thousands of Christian business men who would be glad of this chance."

The next questions were more specific and asked, Can the following practices be justified? 3, Misleading advertisements; 4, Deception about the true quality of goods.

To these two questions the general reply was a direct negative. Some, however, were inclined to make reservations in regard to very optimistic statements about the quality of the goods offered for sale, and a few thought it was sometimes forced by unjust competition.

The next question was: 5, Is it justifiable to sell at a loss in order to win the market?

(100)—Commercial Morality by John Carter, Rivington, Percival & Company, London, 1893.
(101)—Commercial Morality, p. 10.

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Most of the replies considered this justifiable under certain conditions as a form of advertising, but the danger was pointed out of using it as a direct means of killing out competition in order to gain a monopoly of the market by wrecking competitors.

Question 6. Bribing the agents of customers seems to prevail to an alarming extent in all branches of trade. In most cases it cannot go on to such an extent without the knowledge of the employers, but they seem willing to allow their clerks to be paid in this indirect way in spite of the fact that even if not making them directly dishonest, it must at least pervert their judgment. Many of the replies condoned the offense on the ground of custom, and one says frankly, "I would not hesitate to push my business by bribing another man. I might have a very poor opinion of his character . . . . but I must sell my goods." Fortunately the law does not sanction this low moral standard. In summing up a recent illegal commission case the Lord Chief Justice said: "I know of no cases more important to the commercial interest of the community than these cases touching the illegitimate offer or acceptance of commissions. Such practices sap commercial morality, they corrupt both employers and employed, and set a great premium on dishonest trade." (102)

Question 7. The last question as to having more than one price for the same article, at the same time and in the same place of business, was, on the whole, condemned rather on grounds of policy than of principle.

As an example of the standard of commercial morality prevailing in the community at large, Mr. Carter quotes the case of the select committee of the House of Lords to consider the question of the supply of foreign meat. "The evidence before the committee showed that of the total meat supply of Great Britain and Ireland, one-third is estimated to have come from abroad. But it is curiously difficult to trace where it is sold. For instance, in Southport, a town of about forty thousand inhabitants, with some fifty butchers, it was stated that on one occasion at least only three English animals were slaughtered in a week. What, then, does the select committee recommend? Practically, that we had better not press the abstract principle of honesty too rigorously, lest the country suffer damage; for this foreign meat, it is confidently declared, is really of a better quality than the English, and therefore, if we force the foreign dealer to declare his goods, the price of home grown meat will fall." (103)

the small trader and the subordinate are much more tempted than the large employer to indulge in tricks of the trade, or to condescend to petty meanness. That undeniably dishonest practices prevail to an alarming extent is a matter of common knowledge, and it is no answer that the practices are known and tolerated by the employers. "There are substantial reasons for dreading the demoralizing effect in the long run of such tampering with strict morality. But the question cannot be answered from outside; any reform must proceed from the men of business themselves, and not from the public." (104) The Christian Social Union has done all it can for the present in making clear the existence of the evil.

(102)—Economic Review, April, 1896, p. 219.
(103)—Present Relations of Morals and Commerce, by Rev. John Carter, p. 2.
(104)—Commercial Morality, p. 31.

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8. The work which has been most successful at least in its appeal to members is the preparation of "fair-lists" in the large towns and the general subject of Preferential Dealing. (105) First as to theory. We may gladly assume that the old benumbing theory of laissez-faire is at last outgrown. Something can and must be done to direct production and consumption. And first of all "the producing man is essentially the servant of the consuming man, and the final direction of industry lies with the consumers." (106) This is the key-note to the new point of view; the emphasis has changed from wealth making to wealth using; and the purchasing public is brought face to face with a hitherto unrecognized responsibility of power. "There are," says Prof. Smart, "two distinct responsibilities which must not be confused; one is responsibility for conditions under which goods are made, the other is responsibility for their being made at all. A slight awakening of the public conscience has induced some to ask if it is not possible to demand some guarantee that the goods we buy are made by workers paid decent wages and working under healthy conditions." (107) It is this question which the various "Consumers' Leagues" in different parts of the world have attempted to answer, and the Church of England has brought the subject especially before her children at the Lamberth Conference of 1897. "Christian opinion," say the Bishops, "ought to condemn the belief that economic conditions are to be left to the action of material causes and mechanical laws, uncontrolled by any moral responsibility. . . . . It can insist that the employer's personal responsibility, as such, is not lost by his membership in a commercial or industrial company. It can press upon retail purchasers the obligation to consider not only the cheapness of the goods supplied to them, but also the probable conditions of their production."

In the practical working out of this theory the state and many municipal bodies throughout the kingdom have already taken definite action. All Government contracts are now issued in accordance with the Fair Wages Resolution passed by the House of Commons, Feb. 13, 1891, which aims to prevent the abuse from sub-letting and "to secure the payment of such wages as are generally adopted as current in each trade for competent workmen." (108) In the United Kingdom a group of urban districts including London and representing more than fourteen millions have passed similar resolutions requiring fair wages in their public contracts.

The Trades Unions have long exerted their influence in a similar direction, and have made known to their members and to the public their stamp of approval of the conditions under which certain goods were made by affixing the Union label. But this is of value only as it influences the purchaser in his selection of goods, and leads back again to the theory that the consumer — the purchaser — is the final arbiter of what shall or shall not be produced.

Let us see now what results may be obtained by Preferential Dealing on the part of private persons. There are now five towns — Oxford,

(105)—See pamphlet issued by The Rev. John Carter, "Preferential Dealings," Oxford, 1900.
(106)—Smart. Studies in Economics. Macmillan, London, 1895.
(107)—Smart. Studies in Economics, p. 268.
(108)—Preferential Dealing, p. 6.

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Birkenhead, Leeds, Leicester and Manchester — which have published general lists, comprising a variety of trades, while a number of other towns have lists of particular trades. It may be a cause of some wonder that London has issued no fair lists, but it seemed impossible to get lists out of the trades council, as was done in the smaller towns. The London Secretary, therefore, with the sanction of the committee, drew up in 1900 a list of a different kind, called a "Specially Recommended List." "It is," says the 1900 report, "issued in the form of a letter recommending a few firms which (in the writer's opinion) are in some special way deserving of support," and was issued in response to a considerable number of letters which the Secretary received each year.

The chief facts in regard to the Fair Lists which have been issued by the large towns may be summarized as follows:—

"First, the standard code of rules for a trade represents a mutual agreement between masters and men. Secondly, of the general list of tradesmen, none contain less than a hundred firms, and one, for Manchester includes over seven hundred firms divided among some forty different trades. Thirdly, after a list has been in circulation for more than a year, it has always been enlarged when published for the second time; and in one instance, after several year's experience, the list has been increased five-fold." (109)

The need for these lists is well illustrated by the case of Oxford. In the printing trades, before the lists were issued, but eight firms observed the standard scale of hours and wages; at the present time the list contains twenty-one firms, which leaves comparatively few printing offices still working on the lower level. The other trades in which exceptional results have been obtained is that of the bakers and confectioners. The men had repeatedly failed to form a Union and were quite unable to help themselves. The code of rules was the direct outcome of action on the part of ordinary consumers. This code fixed the maximum number of hours per week (excluding time for meals) of journeymen 66 hours, deliverers 78 hours. The minimum wage for journeymen 22s., deliverers 21s. The need for this will be seen when it is stated that this represents a great advance upon the former conditions. At present only eighteen firms, out of nearly fifty, have adopted this code. But in speaking of the attempt to induce the general public to trade at these listed shops, Mr. Carter says, "It must be confessed that there are still people who would hesitate to admit that to employ a man for more than eleven hours in the heat of a bake-shop, or for more than thirteen hours a day in partly out-door work, is sweating of a most reprehensible type, and who, perhaps, would be still less inclined to acknowledge that they had no sort of right to profit by the cheapness of articles produced under such shameful conditions." (110) The need of educating the public conscience is emphasized by the curious fact that the printing of parish magazines, and within recent years, the binding of prayer-books and Bibles has been done at exceptionally low prices by the introduction of the sweating methods.

Lest people should fancy that severe hardships of this kind are quite exceptional, one closing instance of a standard code of rules which has

(109)—Preferential Dealing, p. 11.
(110)—See Preferential Dealing, p. 15.

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recently been framed for dress-makers in a certain town. "Among the regulations there is one which provides that seamstresses, after an apprenticeship of not more than two years, shall receive at least 5s. for a working week of sixty hours. But in fact at the present moment there are seamstresses who, after two years' service without any wage at all, only receive 1s., 6d. or 2s. a week."

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CHAPTER VI.

Conclusion.

To sum up in any definite form the results of the Christian Socialist movement is an almost impossible task. It is an intensely active force in English thought and life today, and we stand much too close to judge it in proper perspective. If, however, we go back to the earlier movement, it cannot be denied that Maurice failed in the two definite forms in which he tried to express the Christian Socialist principle. The productive co-operative workshop, from which he hoped so much, proved itself a dismal failure; nor, so far as one can judge from an outside point of view, has the effort to bring the workingman into the Church been more successful. If the last fifty years have done much to overcome the hostility of the labouring man to the Church, the clergy today are confronted with a no less fatal indifference.

But Maurice's failure was apparent rather than real. It was a failure of the means by which he hoped to accomplish his end, while the real principle for which he worked has been growing stronger and wider in its influence from that day to this. Maurice hoped to find in co-operation and in the Church a force which should lift the labouring man out of the brutalizing selfishness in which he seemed to be wasting his powers, and bring him into closer touch with his fellows; to make him realize the presence and the power of God in his own heart, and so through the Fatherhood of God bring him to a realization of the Brotherhood of man. It was the literal application of Christ's teaching, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." And in the end Maurice's faith in the applicability of this to life has been more than justified. Certainly since Maurice made his first appeal more than fifty years ago, the world has seen great changes. The working man has learned many lessons of mutual helpfulness, even though he may not yet be ready to forego entirely the principle of competition. The power of brotherhood which his friendly societies, trades unions and co-operative societies have developed, has forced the men to think for and help each other. Whatever may be said as to the economic or financial folly of the sympathetic strike there is in it, however mixed with evil, a strong principle of unselfishness—of unwillingness to sacrifice a present personal advantage for a neighbour's gain, which touches an element which the labour men sadly lacked in Maurice's day.

The application of this principle of brotherhood has, too, effected a great change in the relation between the working man and the upper classes. Certainly on the side of the upper classes it has been productive of most definite results. The old spirit of patronage so ably championed in Disraeli's Coningsby has been replaced by the new spirit. The working men's college which Maurice founded in 1854 with 140 students, has today a membership of over 2000, and it is only one among many institutions in different parts of London, where the broadest type of education is offered to the workman. The whole list of University Settle-

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ments, and kindred institutions, are the direct result of this new feeling of brotherhood which Maurice taught, and which has found vital expression in practical living. The means of its accomplishment are different from those which Maurice chose. The result, with no less certainty, forces men to live outside of themselves, and enlarges that group of men who have proved the truth of Maurice's teaching by making it a part of their own personal experience.

One practical result of this on the side of the working man has been to lessen very much the old bitterness between employer and employed. The party of revolution has practically disappeared. It is true that strikes still occur with periodic frequency, but they are after all a necessary consequence of the principle of "collective bargaining" by which the men sell their labour as a group, and not as individuals. And the principle of arbitration points to a further growth of the amicable spirit which, during the last half century, has manifested itself with slowly increasing force in labour disputes.

It was the application of the spirit of brotherliness to their daily lives that made Ludlow, Hughes and Neale a power in every movement to which they put their hands. The modern phases of the movement have not missed the importance of this vital force. But the weakness of the Guild of St. Matthew lies in the fact that it insists on dictating the particular form in which the spiritual principle shall manifest itself. It may be that in attempting to solve the problem with a definite formula they will fail, just as Maurice failed, to make their particular answer applicable to present conditions.

But the principle of brotherhood as a living power is still taught by the Christian Social Union. They meet each individual case as it arises, but always go back to the first principle to measure every line of conduct. All the affairs of life must, they say, be subject to the supreme test of Brotherliness. It may be worth while to look for a moment at the resuts which the application of their principle might produce, as illustrated by the history of nations and of individuals.

Historically it is noteworthy that each nation has demanded a wider application of the principle of true brotherliness, which means first of all equality of opportunity. Each civilization in turn has raised a larger and larger proportion of its numbers to its highest level, but each has fallen through the unrest of the forgotten masses underneath. Greece with her small group of great masters; Rome with her restricted right of citizenship, and her turbulent lower classes; France with her selfish nobles and frantic reign of terror; each in turn grew weak through neglecting the principle of brotherhood. They forgot that growth lies not in accumulation but in giving. They developed the enervating luxury begotten of selfishness. What would be the effect on the England of today if this principle of our common brotherhood were strictly applied to the national life? England has long passed beyond the nightmare of European sovereigns that the masses may raise the standard of revolution and precipitate civil war. But there is much yet to be done in England. Selfishness and indifference are postponing many a reform which would enlarge the opportunity for every man to express the divine that is within him. And might not the broadening of this principle which

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should at least leave none without a fair chance in the st gle for existence, do much to make enduring the civilization of En nd, or of any nation that could make it a part of her life.

The influence of this principle of brotherhood on the individual, however, is of supreme importance. The struggle of the human heart is for freedom. If we look at the great popular uprisings, we find that all have this demand in common. The type of freedom has differed at different times and places, but the great desire is to be free. In his address to the Chartists in 1848, Kingslet pointed out that they were under a spiritual bondage which, if they could but recognize it, was the true cause of much of their distress. They were seeking for redress in the remedying of outward conditions, but the true remedy lay in readjustment of their own hearts to the life about them. Here is the keynote to all the discord of life. If men would but live the life of freedom, and make themselves worthy, then their bondage would cease. To win this, however, each individual must learn that "unselfishness is freedom." Not a sentimental unselfishness which neglects one's own duties to busy one's self with other people's affairs. But an unselfishness born of the true spirit of brotherhood which makes a man love his neighbour as himself. It is a new spirit, a new point of view of life, and it comes only through a recognition of the common Fatherhood of God, which is the true basis for our common brotherhood. In so far as that is a part of our consciousness, we cannot fail to express the Christian Socialist ideal in our lives. But we cannot help asking today with Carlyle — "Is it not the root of all our confusions and bewilderments that we have too much forgotten God?"

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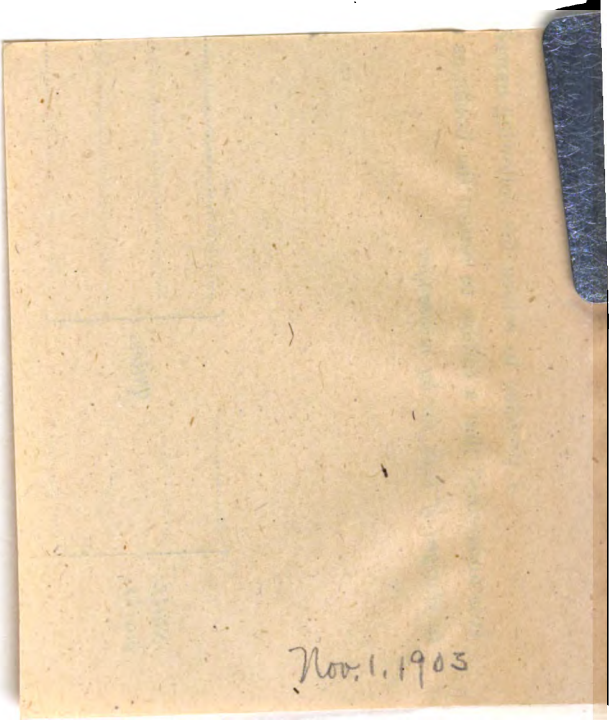

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